

April 1960

AMERICAN

SOCIOLOGICAL

REVIEW

The Norm of Reciprocity

*Alvin W. Gouldner*

Structural Effects

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The English Record of a Natural Sociology

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*Paul M. Harrison*

Trade Union Participation

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THE NORM OF RECIPROCITY:  
A PRELIMINARY STATEMENT \*

ALVIN W. GOULDNER

Washington University at St. Louis

*The manner in which the concept of reciprocity is implicated in functional theory is explored, enabling a reanalysis of the concepts of "survival" and "exploitation." The need to distinguish between the concepts of complementarity and reciprocity is stressed. Distinctions are also drawn between (1) reciprocity as a pattern of mutually contingent exchange of gratifications, (2) the existential or folk belief in reciprocity, and (3) the generalized moral norm of reciprocity. Reciprocity as a moral norm is analyzed; it is hypothesized that it is one of the universal "principal components" of moral codes. As Westermarck states, "To require a benefit, or to be grateful to him who bestows it, is probably everywhere, at least under certain circumstances, regarded as a duty. This is a subject which in the present connection calls for special consideration." Ways in which the norm of reciprocity is implicated in the maintenance of stable social systems are examined.*

THERE is no duty more indispensable than that of returning a kindness," says Cicero, adding that "all men distrust one forgetful of a benefit."—Men have been insisting on the importance of reciprocity for a long time. While many sociologists concur in this judgment, there are nonetheless few concepts in sociology which remain more obscure and ambiguous. Howard Becker, for example, has found this concept so important that he has titled one of his books *Man in Reciprocity* and has even spoken of man as *Homo reciprocus*, all without venturing to present a straightforward definition of reciprocity. Instead Becker states, "I don't propose to furnish any definition of reciprocity; if you produce some, they will be your own achievements."<sup>1</sup>

Becker is not alone in failing to stipulate formally the meaning of reciprocity, while at the same time affirming its prime importance. Indeed, he is in very good company, agreeing with L. T. Hobhouse, who held that "reciprocity . . . is the vital principle of society,"<sup>2</sup> and is a key intervening variable through which shared social rules are enabled to yield social stability. Yet Hobhouse presents no systematic definition of reciprocity. While hardly any clearer than Hobhouse, Richard Thurnwald is equally certain of the central importance of the "principle of reciprocity": this principle is almost a primordial imperative which "pervades every relation of primitive life"<sup>3</sup> and is the basis on which the entire social and ethical life of primitive civilizations presumably rests.<sup>4</sup> Georg Sim-

\* Sections of this paper were read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, September, 1959. The author is indebted to Robert K. Merton, Howard S. Becker, John W. Bennett, Louis Schneider, and Gregory Stone for reading an earlier draft but knows of no adequate "reciprocity" for their many valuable suggestions.

<sup>1</sup> Howard Becker, *Man in Reciprocity*, New York: Prager, 1956, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> L. T. Hobhouse, *Morals in Evolution: A Study in Comparative Ethics*, London: Chapman & Hall, 1951, First edition, 1906, p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Richard Thurnwald, *Economics in Primitive Communities*, London: Oxford University Press, 1932, p. 106.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 137. See also, Richard Thurnwald, "Banaro Society: Social Organization and Kinship System of a Tribe in the Interior of New Guinea,"

mel's comments go a step further, emphasizing the importance of reciprocity not only for primitive but for all societies. Simmel remarks that social equilibrium and cohesion could not exist without "the reciprocity of service and return service," and that "all contacts among men rest on the schema of giving and returning the equivalence."<sup>5</sup>

Were we confronted with only an obscure concept, which we had no reason to assume to be important, we might justifiably consign it to the Valhalla of intellectual history, there to consort eternally with the countless incunabula of sociological ingenuity. However convenient, such a disposition would be rash, for we can readily note the importance attributed to the concept of reciprocity by such scholars as George Homans, Claude Lévi-Strauss, and Raymond Firth,<sup>6</sup> as well as by such earlier writers as Durkheim, Marx, Mauss, Malinowski, and von Wiese, to name only a few masters.

Accordingly, the aims of this paper are: (1) to indicate the manner in which the concept of reciprocity is tacitly involved in but formally neglected by modern functional theory; (2) to clarify the concept and display some of its diverse intellectual contents, thus facilitating its theoretical employment and research utility; and (3) to suggest concretely ways in which the clarified concept provides new leverage for analysis of the central problems of sociological theory, namely, accounting for stability and instability in social systems.

#### RECIPROCITY AND FUNCTIONAL THEORY

My concern with reciprocity developed initially from a critical reexamination of current functional theory, especially the work of

Robert Merton and Talcott Parsons. The fullest ramifications of what follows can best be seen in this theoretical context. Merton's familiar paradigm of functionalism stresses that analysis must begin with the identification of some problematic pattern of human behavior, some institution, role, or shared pattern of belief. Merton stipulates clearly the basic functionalist assumption, the way in which the problematic pattern is to be understood: he holds that the "central orientation of functionalism" is "expressed in the practice of interpreting data by establishing their consequences for larger structures in which they are implicated."<sup>7</sup> The functionalist's emphasis upon studying the *existent* consequences, the ongoing functions or dysfunctions, of a social pattern may be better appreciated if it is remembered that this concern developed in a polemic against the earlier anthropological notion of a "survival." The survival, of course, was regarded as a custom held to be unexplainable in terms of its existent consequences or utility and which, therefore, had to be understood with reference to its consequences for social arrangements no longer present.

Merton's posture toward the notion of a social survival is both pragmatic and sceptical. He asserts that the question of survivals is largely an empirical one; if the evidence demonstrates that a given social pattern is presently functionless then it simply has to be admitted provisionally to be a survival. Contrariwise, if no such evidence can be adduced "then the quarrel dwindles of its own accord."<sup>8</sup> It is in this sense that his position is pragmatic. It is also a sceptical position in that he holds that "even when such survivals are identified in contemporary literate societies, they seem to add little to our understanding of human behavior or the dynamics of social change. . . ."<sup>9</sup> We are told, finally, that "the sociologist of literate societies may neglect survivals with no apparent loss."<sup>10</sup>

This resolution of the problem of survivals does not seem entirely satisfactory, for although vital empirical issues are involved there are also important questions that can

*Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association*, 8, 1916; among other matters of relevance to the analysis of reciprocity, Thurnwald's discussion here (p. 275) opens the issue of the "exchange of women," which Lévi-Strauss later developed.

<sup>5</sup> Georg Simmel, *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*, translated and edited by Kurt H. Wolff, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1950, p. 387.

<sup>6</sup> See, respectively, George Homans, "Social Behavior as Exchange," *American Journal of Sociology*, 63 (May, 1958), pp. 597-606; C. Lévi-Strauss, *Les Structures élémentaires de la parenté*, Paris: Presses Universitaires, 1949; and Raymond Firth, *Primitive Polynesian Economy*, New York: Humanities Press, 1950.

<sup>7</sup> R. K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957, pp. 46-47.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 33.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 34.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*



only be clarified theoretically. Merton's discussion implies that certain patterns of human behavior are already known to be, or may in the future be shown to be, social survivals. How, then, can *these* be explained in terms of functional theory? Can functional theory ignore them on the grounds that they are not socially consequential? Consequential or not, such social survivals would in themselves entail patterns of behavior or belief which are no less in need of explanation than any other. More than that, their very existence, which Merton conceives possible, would seem to contradict the "central orientation" of functional theory.

Functionalism, to repeat, explains the persistence of social patterns in terms of their ongoing consequences for existent social systems. If social survivals, which by definition have no such consequences, are conceded to exist or to be possible, then it would seem that functionalism is by its own admission incapable of explaining them. To suggest that survivals do not help us to understand other patterns of social behavior is beside the mark. The decisive issue is whether existent versions of functional theory can explain social survivals, not whether specific social survivals can explain other social patterns.

It would seem that functionalists have but one of two choices: either they must dogmatically deny the existence or possibility of functionless patterns (survivals), and assert that all social behavior is explainable parsimoniously on the basis of the same fundamental functionalist assumption, that is, in terms of its consequences for surrounding social structures; or, more reasonably, they must concede that some social patterns are or may be survivals, admitting that existent functional theory fails to account for such instances. In the latter case, functionalists must develop further their basic assumptions on the generalized level required. I believe that one of the strategic ways in which such basic assumptions can be developed is by recognizing the manner in which the concept of *reciprocity* is tacitly involved in them, and by explicating the concept's implications for functional theory.

The tacit implication of the concept of reciprocity in functional theory can be illustrated in Merton's analysis of the latent functions of the political machine in the

United States. Merton inquires how political machines continue to operate, despite the fact that they frequently run counter to both the mores and the law. The *general* form of his explanation is to identify the consequences of the machine for surrounding structures and to demonstrate that the machine performs "positive functions which are at the same time not adequately fulfilled by other existing patterns and structures."<sup>11</sup> It seems evident, however, that simply to establish its consequences for other social structures provides no answer to the question of the persistence of the political machine.<sup>12</sup> The explanation miscarries because no explicit analysis is made of the feedback through which the social structures or groups, whose needs are satisfied by the political machine, in turn "reciprocate" and repay the machine for the services received from it. In this case, the patterns of reciprocity, implied in the notion of the "corruption" of the machine, are well known and fully documented.

To state the issue generally: the demonstration that A is functional for B can help to account for A's persistence only if the functional theorist tacitly assumes some principle of reciprocity. It is in this sense that some concept of reciprocity apparently has been smuggled into the basic but unstated postulates of functional analysis. The demonstration that A is functional for B helps to account for A's own persistence and stability only on two related assumptions: (1) that B *reciprocates* A's services, and (2) that B's service to A is *contingent* upon A's performance of positive functions for B. The second assumption, indeed, is one implication of the definition of reciprocity as a transaction. Unless B's services to A are contingent upon the services provided by A, it is pointless to examine the latter if one wishes to account for the persistence of A.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 73. Among the functions of the political machine to which Merton refers are: the organization and centralization of power so that it can be mobilized to satisfy the needs of different groups, provision of personalized forms of assistance for lower-class groups, giving political privileges and aid to business groups, and granting protection for illicit rackets.

<sup>12</sup> An initial statement of this point is to be found in A. W. Gouldner, "Reciprocity and Autonomy in Functional Theory," in L. Gross, editor, *Symposium on Sociological Theory*, Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson, 1959, pp. 241-270.

It may be assumed, as a first approximation, that a social unit or group is more likely to contribute to another which provides it with benefits than to one which does not; nonetheless, there are certain general conditions under which one pattern may provide benefits for the other despite a *lack* of reciprocity. An important case of this situation is where power arrangements constrain the continuance of services. If B is considerably more powerful than A, B may force A to benefit it with little or no reciprocity. This social arrangement, to be sure, is less stable than one in which B's reciprocity *motivates* A to continue performing services for B, but it is hardly for this reason sociologically unimportant.

The problem can also be approached in terms of the functional autonomy<sup>13</sup> of two units relative to each other. For example, B may have many alternative sources for supplying the services that it normally receives from A. A, however, may be dependent upon B's services and have no, or comparatively few, alternatives. Consequently, the continued provision of benefits by one pattern,<sup>14</sup> A, for another, B, depends not only upon (1) the benefits which A in turn receives from B, but also on (2) the power which B possesses relative to A, and (3) the alternative sources of services accessible to each, beyond those provided by the other. In short, an explanation of the stability of a pattern, or of the relationship between A and B, requires investigation of mutually contingent benefits rendered and of the manner in which this mutual contingency is sustained. The latter, in turn, requires utilization of two different theoretical traditions and general orientations, one stressing the significance of power differences and the other emphasizing the degree of mutual dependence of the patterns or parties involved.

Functional theory, then, requires some assumption concerning reciprocity. It must, however, avoid the "Pollyanna Fallacy" which optimistically assumes that structures

securing "satisfactions" from others will invariably be "grateful" and will always reciprocate. Therefore it cannot be merely hypothesized that reciprocity will operate in every case; its occurrence must, instead, be documented empirically. Although reciprocal relations stabilize patterns, it need not follow that a lack of reciprocity is socially impossible or invariably disruptive of the patterns involved. Relations with little or no reciprocity may, for example, occur when power disparities allow one party to coerce the other. There may also be special mechanisms which compensate for or control the tensions which arise in the event of a breakdown in reciprocity. Among such compensatory mechanisms there may be culturally shared prescriptions of one-sided or unconditional generosity, such as the Christian notion of "turning the other cheek" or "walking the second mile," the feudal notion of "*noblesse oblige*," or the Roman notion of "clemency." There may also be cultural prohibitions banning the examination of certain interchanges from the standpoint of their concrete reciprocity, as expressed by the cliché, "It's not the gift but the sentiment that counts." The major point here is that if empirical analysis fails to detect the existence of functional reciprocity, or finds that it has been disrupted, it becomes necessary to search out and analyze the compensatory arrangements that may provide means of controlling the resultant tensions, thereby enabling the problematic pattern to remain stable.

#### A RECONCEPTUALIZATION OF "SURVIVALS"

Thus far reciprocity has been discussed as a mutually contingent exchange of benefits between two or more units, as if it were an "all or none" matter. Once the problem is posed in this way, however, it is apparent that reciprocity is not merely present or absent but is, instead, quantitatively variable—or may be treated as such. The benefits exchanged, at one extreme, may be identical or equal. At the other logical extreme, one party may give nothing in return for the benefits it has received. Both of these extremes are probably rare in social relations and the intermediary case, in which one party gives something more or less than that received, is probably more common than either of the limiting cases.

<sup>13</sup> For fuller discussion of this concept, see Gouldner, *ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> Use of terms such as "pattern" or "unit" is intended to indicate that the present discussion deliberately collapses distinctions between institutional, interpersonal, group, or role reciprocities, treating them here under a single rubric for reasons of space.

Having cast the problem of reciprocity in these quantitative terms, there emerges an important implication for the question of social survivals. The quantitative view of reciprocity. These functionalists made the cogent of the *earlier* notion of a survival. It may now be seen that there a survival was tacitly treated as one of the limiting cases of reciprocity, that is, one in which a pattern provides *nothing* in exchange for the benefits given it.

The polemical opposition of the earlier functionalists to this view of a survival rests implicitly on an unqualified principle of reciprocity. These functionalists made the cogent assumption that a social pattern which persists must be securing satisfaction of its own needs from certain other patterns. What was further and more dubiously assumed, however, was that if this pattern continues to be "served" this could only be because it reciprocally provided *some* gratifications to its benefactors. In the course of the polemic, the question of the degree of such gratification—the relation between its output and input—became obscured. To the early functionalists, the empirical problem became one of unearthing the hidden contributions made by a seeming survival and, thereby, showing that it is not in fact functionless. In effect, this enjoined the functionalist to exert his ingenuity to search out the hidden reciprocities for it was assumed that there must be some reciprocities somewhere. This led, in certain cases, as Audrey Richards states, to "some far-fetched explanations. . . ." <sup>15</sup>

If, however, it had been better understood that compensatory mechanisms might have been substituted for reciprocity, or that power disparities might have maintained the "survival" despite its lack of reciprocity, then many fruitful problems may well have emerged. Above all, the early functionalists neglected the fact that a survival is only the limiting case of a larger class of social phenomena, namely, relations between parties or patterns in which functional reciprocity is *not equal*. While the survival, defined as the *extreme* case of a *complete lack* of reciprocity, may be rare, the larger class of *unequal* exchanges, of which survivals are a part, is

frequent. The tacit conception of survivals as entailing no reciprocity led the early functionalists to neglect the *larger class of unequal exchanges*. It is this problem which the functionalist polemic against survivals has obscured to the present day.

#### THE "EXPLOITATION" PROBLEM

It was, however, not only the functionalist polemic against the concept of survivals that obscured the significance and inhibited the study of unequal exchanges. A similar result is also produced by the suspicion with which many modern sociologists understandably regard the concept of "exploitation." This concept of course is central to the traditional socialist critique of modern capitalism. In the now nearly-forgotten language of political economy, "exploitation" refers to a relationship in which unearned income results from certain kinds of unequal exchange.

Starting perhaps with Sismondi's notion of "spoliation," and possibly even earlier with the physiocrat's critique of exchange as intrinsically unproductive, the concept of exploitation can be traced from the work of the Saint-Simonians to that of Marx and Proudhon.<sup>16</sup> It is also present in Veblen's notion of the Vested Interest which he characterizes as "the right to something for nothing" or, in other words, as *institutionalized* exploitation. Even after the emergence of sociology as a separate discipline the concept of exploitation appears in the works of E. A. Ross,<sup>17</sup> von Wiese, and Howard Becker.<sup>18</sup> As it passed into sociology, how-

<sup>15</sup> The views of these and other analysts of exploitation are ably summarized in C. Gide and C. Rist, *A History of Economic Doctrines*, translated by R. Richards, Boston: Heath, revised edition, 1918.

<sup>17</sup> See, e.g., E. A. Ross, *New-Age Sociology*, New York: Appleton-Century, 1940, esp. Chapter 9.

<sup>18</sup> Note von Wiese and Becker's comment: "The Marxians trace the social process of exploitation to the 'capitalistic' economic order; their thesis is that capitalism creates exploitation. We, on the other hand, do not deny the existence of capitalistic exploitation, but it is for us only one of the forms which are found among the phenomena of exploitation. The destruction of capitalism will not signalize the end of exploitation, but will merely prevent the appearance of some of its forms and will open up new opportunities for others." L. von Wiese and Howard Becker, *Systematic Sociology*, New York: Wiley, 1932, p. 700. It would seem that 20th century history amply confirms this view.

<sup>16</sup> Raymond Firth, editor, *Man and Culture: An Evaluation of the Work of Bronislaw Malinowski*, New York: The Humanities Press, 1957, p. 19.



ever, the concept was generalized beyond its original economic application. Ross and Becker-von Wiese, for example, speak of various types of exploitation: economic, to be sure, but also religious, "egotic," and sexual. However, just as the concept of exploitation was being generalized and made available for social analysis, it almost disappeared from sociological usage.

"Almost disappeared" because there remains one area in which unabashed, full-scale use of the concept is made by sociologists. This is in the study of sexual relations. As Kanin and Howard remark, "It has been the *practice* to speak of exploitation when males were found to have entered sexual liaisons with women of comparative lower status."<sup>19</sup> Kingsley Davis also uses the notion of exploitation implicitly in his discussion of the incest taboo, remarking that "... father-daughter incest would put the daughter in a position of subordination. While she was still immature the father could use his power to take advantage of her."<sup>20</sup> What Davis is saying is that one function of the incest taboo is to prevent sexual exploitation. He goes on to add that "legitimate sexual relations ordinarily involve a certain amount of reciprocity. Sex is exchanged for something equally valuable."<sup>21</sup> This is an interesting commentary, first, because Davis is quite clear about treating exploitation in the context of a discussion of reciprocity; and second, because he explicitly uses a notion of reciprocity in a strategic way even though it is not systematically explored elsewhere in his volume, once again illustrating the tendency to use the concept and to assume its analytic importance without giving it careful conceptualization.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>19</sup> E. Kanin and D. H. Howard, "Postmarital Consequences of Premarital Sex Adjustments," *American Sociological Review*, 23 (October, 1958), p. 558. (My italics.)

<sup>20</sup> Kingsley Davis, *Human Society*, New York: Macmillan, 1949, p. 403.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 404.

<sup>22</sup> Note Davis's tendency to assume that legitimate sexual relations entail an exchange of *equal* values even though his previous sentence indicates that there may be no more than "a *certain amount* of reciprocity" involved. The latter is a way of talking about *unequal* exchanges and thus implies that these occur in institutionalized and not only in illicit relations. This is an important problem that cannot be developed here.

The continued use of the concept of exploitation in sociological analyses of sexual relations stems largely from the brilliant work of Willard Waller on the dynamics of courtship. Waller's ambivalent comments about the concept suggest why it has fallen into sociological disrepute. "The word exploitation is by no means a desirable one," explains Waller, "but we have not been able to find another which will do as well. The dictionary definition of exploitation as an 'unfair or unjust utilization of another' contains a value judgment, and this value judgment is really a part of the ordinary sociological meaning of the term."<sup>23</sup> In short, the concept of exploitation may have become disreputable because its value implications conflict with modern sociology's effort to place itself on a value-free basis, as well as because it is a concept commonly and correctly associated with the critique of modern society emphasized by the political left. But the concept *need* not be used in such an ideological manner; it can be employed simply to refer to certain transactions involving an exchange of things of unequal value. It is important to guarantee that the ordinary value implications of a term do not intrude upon its scientific use. It is also important, however, to prevent our distaste for the ideological implications of exploitation from inducing a compulsive and equally ideological neglect of its cognitive substance.

The unsavory implications of the concept of exploitation have *not* excluded it from studies of sexual relations, although almost all other specializations in sociology eschew it. Why this is so remains a tempting problem for the sociology of knowledge, but cannot be explored here. In the present context, the important implications are the following: If the possible sexual exploitation of daughters by fathers gives rise, as Davis suggests, to mechanisms that serve to prevent this, then it would seem that *other* types of exploitation may also be controlled by *other* kinds of mechanisms. These may be no less important and universal than the incest taboo. If the exploitation of women by men (or men by women) is worthy of sociological attention, then also worth studying is the

<sup>23</sup> Willard Waller, *The Family: A Dynamic Interpretation*, revised by Reuben Hill, New York: Dryden, 1951, p. 163.

exploitation of students by teachers, of workers by management or union leaders, of patients by doctors,<sup>24</sup> and so on. If the notion of exploitation, in a value-free sense, is useful for the analysis of sexual relations then it can be of similar aid in analyzing many other kinds of social relations.

Doubtless "exploitation" is by now so heavily charged with misleading ideological resonance that the term itself can scarcely be salvaged for purely scientific purposes and will, quite properly, be resisted by most American sociologists. This is unimportant. Perhaps a less emotionally freighted—if infelicitous—term such as "reciprocity imbalance" will suffice to direct attention once again to the crucial question of unequal exchanges.

In any event, the present analysis of reciprocity opens up long-neglected questions, yielding a new perspective on the relation between functional theory and the concepts of "survival" and "exploitation." In the latter case, moreover, intimations emerge of some of the ways in which two diverse theoretical traditions contain surprising convergences.

These two traditions are, first, that which is commonly if questionably<sup>25</sup> held to begin with Comte, was developed by Durkheim, and reaches its fullest current expression in the work of Parsons. The second tradition, while often ideologically distorted nevertheless retains significant sociological substance, derives from Marx and Engels, was developed by Kautsky, and ended in Bukharin. The latent convergence between these two schools involves the implicit stress that each gives to reciprocity, albeit to polar ends of its continuum.

The "Comteian" tradition, of course, approached reciprocity through its emphasis on the division of labor, viewed as a major

source of social cohesion. Characteristically focusing on the problem of social instability and change, rather than stability and cohesion, the "Marxian" tradition emphasized the opposite end of reciprocity namely, exploitation. This, I suspect, is one of the major but overlooked convergences in the history of sociological theory.

This latent convergence becomes most evident in Durkheim's lectures on "Professional Ethics and Civic Morals."<sup>26</sup> Durkheim contends that the existence of social classes, characterized by significant inequalities, in principle makes it impossible for "just" contracts to be negotiated. This system of stratification, Durkheim argues, constrains to an unequal exchange of goods and services, thereby offending the moral expectations of people in industrial societies. The exploitation rendered possible by notable disparities of power among the contracting parties encourages a sense of injustice which has socially destabilizing consequences. Thus both Durkheim and Marx use a concept of "exploitation" for analyzing social instabilities. Durkheim, however, adds an important element that was systematically neglected by Marx, namely, that unequal exchanges of goods and services are socially disruptive because they violate certain pervasive values. But the specific nature of this value element is never fully confronted and explored by Durkheim; we must here take as problematic what Durkheim took as given.

#### COMPLEMENTARITY AND RECIPROCITY

First, however, the question of the meaning of the concept of reciprocity should be reexamined. Consideration of some of the ways in which the reciprocity problem is treated by Parsons helps to distinguish reciprocity from other cognate concepts. "It is inherent in the nature of social interaction," writes Parsons, "that the gratification of ego's need-dispositions is contingent on alter's reaction and vice versa."<sup>27</sup> Presumably, therefore, if the gratification of either party's needs is not contingent upon the other's reactions, the stability of their relation is un-

<sup>24</sup> The point is not to stress, as Parsons does, the unique exploitability of the patient or the peculiar power of the physician, but to see this relationship as but one dramatic case of a larger class of phenomena of basic theoretic significance which should be explicitly dealt with in systematic theory rather than given only *ad hoc* treatment in specific empirical contexts. See Talcott Parsons, *The Social System*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1951, p. 445.

<sup>25</sup> The thesis that this is more mythological than real is developed in my introduction to Emile Durkheim, *Socialism and Saint-Simon*, translated by C. Sattler and edited by A. W. Gouldner, Yellow Springs: Antioch Press, 1958, esp. p. ix.

<sup>26</sup> Emile Durkheim, *Professional Ethics and Civic Morals*, translated by C. Brookfield, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1958; see esp. pp. 209-214.

<sup>27</sup> Parsons, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

dermined. This, in turn, implies that if a social system is to be stable there must always be some "mutuality of gratification."<sup>28</sup> Social system stability, then, presumably depends in part on the mutually contingent exchange of gratifications, that is, on reciprocity as exchange.

This, however, remains an insight the implications of which are never systematically explored. For example, the implications of differences in the *degree* of mutuality or in the symmetry of reciprocity are neglected. Again, while the concept of "exploitation" assumes *central* importance in Parsons' commentary on the patient-doctor relation, it is never precisely defined, examined, and located in his *general* theory.

One reason for Parsons' neglect of reciprocity is that he, like some other sociologists, does not distinguish it from the concept of complementarity. Parsons uses the two concepts as if they are synonymous<sup>29</sup> and, for the most part, centers his analysis on complementarity to the systematic neglect of reciprocity rigorously construed. The term complementarity, however, is itself an ambiguous one and is not, in all of its meanings, synonymous with reciprocity. Complementarity has at least four distinct meanings:<sup>30</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils, editors, *Toward a General Theory of Action*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951, p. 107.

<sup>29</sup> Parsons' tendency to equate complementarity and reciprocity may be illustrated by his comment that "Role expectations organize . . . the reciprocities, expectations, and responses to these expectations in the specific interaction systems of ego and one or more alters. This reciprocal aspect must be borne in mind since the expectations of an ego *always* imply the expectations of one or more alters. It is in this *reciprocity* or *complementarity* that sanctions enter. . . ." *Ibid.*, pp. 190-191 (my italics); see also p. 105. The burden of Parsons' analysis attends to the conditions and consequences of complementarity, by which he means that a role player requires of himself what his role partner requires of him. It is precisely for this reason that Parsons emphasizes that values must be held in common by the actors, if their expectations are to be compatible. The equation of reciprocity with complementarity is not peculiar to Parsons. It is evident in the work of other sociologists who sometimes speak of the rights and obligations in a pair of roles as "reciprocal" and other times as "complementary." And, like Parsons, others state that rights and duties, or role expectations, are *always* complementary.

<sup>30</sup> The analysis here closely follows W. D. Ross, *The Right and the Good*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950.

Complementarity<sub>1</sub> may mean that a right (x) of Ego against Alter implies a duty (—x) of Alter to Ego. Given the often vague use of the term "right," it is quite possible that this proposition, in one aspect, is only an expansion of some definition of the concept "right." To that degree, of course, this is simply an analytic proposition. The interesting sociological questions, however, arise only when issues of empirical substance rather than logical implication are raised. For example, where a group shares a belief that some status occupant has a certain right, say the right of a wife to receive support from her husband, does the group in fact also share a belief that the husband has an obligation to support the wife? Furthermore, even though rights may logically or empirically imply duties, it need not follow that the reverse is true. In other words, it does not follow that rights and duties are always transitive. This can be seen in a second meaning of complementarity.

Complementarity<sub>2</sub> may mean that what is a duty (—x) of Alter to Ego implies a right (x) of Ego against Alter. On the *empirical* level, while this is often true, of course, it is also sometimes false. For example, what may be regarded as a duty of charity or forbearance, say a duty to "turn the other cheek," need not be *socially* defined as the *right* of the recipient. While a man may be regarded as having an unconditional obligation to tell the truth to everyone, even to a confirmed liar, people in his group might not claim that the liar has a *right* to have the truth told him.

The other two meanings of complementarity differ substantially. Complementarity<sub>3</sub> may mean that a right (x) of Alter against Ego implies a duty (—y) of Alter to Ego. Similarly, complementarity<sub>4</sub> may mean that a duty (—x) of Ego to Alter implies a right (y) of Ego against Alter.

In these four implications of complementarity—sometimes called reciprocal rights and obligations—there are two distinctive types of cases. Properly speaking, *complementarity* refers only to the first two meanings sketched above, where what is a right of Ego implies an obligation of Alter, or where a duty of Alter to Ego implies a right of Ego against Alter. Only the other two meanings, however, involve true instances of

*reciprocity*, for only in these does what one party receives from the other require some return, so that giving and receiving are mutually contingent.

In short, complementarity connotes that one's rights are another's obligations, and *vice versa*. Reciprocity, however, connotes that *each* party has rights and duties. This is more than an analytic distinction: it is an *empirical* generalization concerning role systems the importance of which as a datum is so elemental that it is commonly neglected and rarely made problematic. The English philosopher MacBeath suggests that this empirical generalization may be accounted for by the principle of reciprocity.<sup>31</sup> This would seem possible in several senses, one of which is that, were there only rights on the one side and duties on the other, there need be no exchange whatsoever. Stated differently, it would seem that there can be stable patterns of reciprocity *qua* exchange only insofar as *each* party has both rights and duties. In effect, then, reciprocity has its significance for *role systems* in that it tends to structure *each* role so as to include both rights and duties. It is now clear, at any rate, that reciprocity is by no means identical with complementarity and that the two are confused only at theoretic peril.

#### MALINOWSKI ON RECIPROCITY

Renewing the effort to clarify the diverse meanings of reciprocity, we turn to Malinowski's seminal contribution. This is most fully elaborated in his *Crime and Custom*,<sup>32</sup> which opens with the following question: Why is it that rules of conduct in a primitive society are obeyed, even though they are hard and irksome? Even under normal conditions, the savage's compliance with his moral code is at best partial, conditional, and evasive. These, says Malinowski, are the elementary facts of ethnography, and consequently we cannot assume that the savage's conformity is due only to his awe and reverence for traditional custom, or that he slavishly and spontaneously complies with its dictates.

Above all, Malinowski rejects the assumption that it is the sacred authority of the moral code, or the "collective conscience," which accounts for the conformity given it. It is to this anti-Durkheimian point that he directs the brunt of his polemic. Conformity, says Malinowski, is not sanctioned "by a mere psychological force, but by a definite social machinery. . . ." <sup>33</sup> Thus Malinowski expressly rejects a psychological account of conformity and seeks instead a distinctively sociological explanation.<sup>34</sup> This he finds in the "principle of reciprocity."

One of Malinowski's central theses holds that people *owe obligations to each other* and that, therefore, conformity with norms is something they give to *each other*. He notes, for example, that almost every religious or ceremonial act is regarded as an obligation between groups and living individuals, and not only to the immortal gods. For Malinowski, therefore, one meaning of reciprocity refers to the interlocking status duties which people owe one another. Thus he speaks of reciprocity as taking place "within a standing partnership, or as associated with definite social ties or coupled with mutuality in non-economic matters."<sup>35</sup>

Reciprocity also entails a "mutual dependence and [is] realized in the equivalent arrangement of reciprocal services. . . ." <sup>36</sup> Here reciprocity is conceived as the complement to and fulfillment of the division of labor. It is the pattern of exchange through which the mutual dependence of people, brought about by the division of labor, is

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 55.

<sup>34</sup> This, by the way, is why I cannot concur in Parsons' judgment that Malinowski never disentangled a social system level of analysis from an encyclopedic concept of culture. See Talcott Parsons, "Malinowski and the Theory of Social Systems," in *Man and Culture* . . . , *op. cit.*, pp. 53-70. Malinowski's *Crime and Custom* transcends a clinical case analysis of specific primitive societies and presents a generalized and basic contribution to the theory of social systems when it addresses itself to the problem of *reciprocity*. Parsons, however, does not mention the significance of reciprocity in Malinowski's work and is able to support his claim that it ignores social system analysis only by this noteworthy omission. Parsons' neglect of the principle of reciprocity in Malinowski's work, it would seem, is consistent with his own neglect of the distinction between reciprocity and complementarity.

<sup>35</sup> Malinowski, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 55.

<sup>31</sup> Alexander MacBeath, *Experiments in Living*, London: Macmillan, 1952; see esp. pp. 127 ff.

<sup>32</sup> Bronislaw Malinowski, *Crime and Custom in Savage Society*, London: Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1932.



realized. Reciprocity, therefore, is a mutually gratifying pattern of exchanging goods and services.

As noted above, Malinowski speaks of reciprocity as involving an exchange of *equivalent* services; he further stresses this by insisting that "most if not all economic acts are found to belong to some chain of reciprocal gifts and counter-gifts, which in the long run balance, benefiting both sides equally."<sup>37</sup> For Malinowski, then, the exchange of goods and services is not only mutually gratifying but is equally so, "in the long run."

Speaking of the reciprocal exchange of vegetables and fish between inland communities and fishing villages, Malinowski remarks that there is a "system of mutual obligations which forces the fisherman to repay whenever he has received a gift from his inland partner, and vice versa. Neither partner can refuse, neither may stint, neither should delay."<sup>38</sup> This is seen to be related to the group's existential beliefs about reciprocity. That is, men are not regarded as blindly involving themselves in reciprocal transactions; they are viewed as having some presentiment of the consequences of reciprocity and of its breakdown. In this vein, Malinowski writes: "Though no native, however intelligent, can formulate this state of affairs in a general abstract manner, or present it as a sociological theory, yet everyone is well aware of its existence and in each concrete case he can foresee the consequences."<sup>39</sup> More specifically, it seems to be implied that people believe that (a) in the long run the mutual exchange of goods and services *will* balance out; or (b) if people do not aid those who helped them certain penalties will be imposed upon them; or (c) those whom they have helped *can* be expected to help them; or (d) some or all of these.

It is clear that two basically different elements were caught up in Malinowski's "principle of reciprocity." One of these is a set of sentiments or existential folk beliefs about

reciprocity. The other is a mutually contingent exchange of benefits or gratifications. (The latter conception converges, though it is not completely identical, with the ecological concept of symbiosis.) There is, however, a third analytically distinct element which, if implicit in Malinowski, remained murky. This is a *value* element, the same value that Durkheim, as mentioned earlier, invoked but did not clarify. Like Durkheim, Malinowski never fully disentangles it from the other elements.

In the exchanges between the fishing and the inland villages, cited above, we may suggest that each side lives up to its obligations, not simply because of constraints imposed by the division of labor with its attendant mutual dependency, but also because the partners share the higher level *moral norm*: "You *should* give benefits to those who give you benefits." Note that this norm does not simply make it unconditionally imperative, say, for the fisherman to give the inland gardeners fish. I refer here not to the *specific* obligation to give fish but rather to a *general* obligation to repay benefits.

In sum, beyond reciprocity as a pattern of exchange and beyond folk beliefs about reciprocity as a fact of life, there is another element: a generalized moral norm of reciprocity which defines certain actions and *obligations* as repayments for benefits received.

Malinowski frequently seems to confuse this general norm with the existence of complementary and concrete status rights and duties. It is theoretically necessary, however, to distinguish specific status duties from the general norm. Specific and complementary duties are owed by role partners to one another by virtue of the socially standardized roles they play. These may require an almost unconditional compliance in the sense that they are incumbent on all those in a given status simply by virtue of its occupancy. In contrast, the generalized norm of reciprocity evokes obligations toward others on the basis of their past behavior. In the first case, Ego's obligations to Alter depend upon Ego's status vis-a-vis Alter; in the second case, Ego's obligation toward Alter depend upon what Alter has done for Ego. There are certain duties that people owe one another, not as human beings, or as fellow members of a group, or even as occupants of social

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 40. This is not to say, however, that Malinowski regards reciprocity *qua* transaction as *always* intended by all the actors or as something of which they are always aware. In brief—and I agree—there are both latent and manifest reciprocities.

statuses within the group but, rather, because of their prior actions. We owe others certain things because of what they have previously done for us, because of the history of previous interaction we have had with them. It is this kind of obligation which is entailed by the generalized norm of reciprocity.

#### THE NORM OF RECIPROCITY

Contrary to some cultural relativists, it can be hypothesized that a norm of reciprocity is universal. As Westermarck stated, "To requite a benefit, or to be grateful to him who bestows it, is probably everywhere, at least under certain circumstances, regarded as a duty."<sup>40</sup> A norm of reciprocity is, I suspect, no less universal and important an element of culture than the incest taboo, although, similarly, its concrete formulations may vary with time and place.

Specifically, I suggest that a norm of reciprocity, in its universal form, makes two interrelated, minimal demands: (1) people should help those who have helped them, and (2) people should not injure those who have helped them. Generically, the norm of reciprocity may be conceived of as a dimension to be found in all value systems and, in particular, as one among a number of "Principal Components" universally present in moral codes. (The task of the sociologist, in this regard, parallels that of the physicist who seeks to identify the basic particles of matter, the conditions under which they vary, and their relations to one another.)

To suggest that a norm of reciprocity is universal is not, of course, to assert that it is unconditional. Unconditionality would, indeed, be at variance with the basic character of the reciprocity norm which imposes obligations only contingently, that is, in response to the benefits conferred by others. Moreover, such obligations of repayment are contingent upon the imputed *value* of the benefit received. The value of the benefit and hence the debt is in proportion to and varies with—among other things—the intensity of the recipient's need at the time the benefit was bestowed ("a friend in need . . ."), the resources of the donor ("he gave although

he could ill afford it"), the motives imputed to the donor ("without thought of gain"), and the nature of the constraints which are perceived to exist or to be absent ("he gave of his own free will . . ."). Thus the obligations imposed by the norm of reciprocity may vary with the *status* of the participants within a society.

Similarly, this norm functions differently in some degree in different *cultures*. In the Philippines, for example, the *compadre* system cuts across and pervades the political, economic, and other institutional spheres. *Compadres* are bound by a norm of reciprocity. If one man pays his *compadre's* doctor's bill in time of need, for example, the latter may be obligated to help the former's son to get a government job. Here the tendency to govern all relations by the norm of reciprocity, thereby undermining bureaucratic impersonality, is relatively legitimate, hence overt and powerful. In the United States, however, such tendencies are weaker, in part because friendship relations are less institutionalized. Nonetheless, even in bureaucracies in this country such tendencies are endemic, albeit less legitimate and overt. Except in friendship, kinship, and neighborly relations, a norm of reciprocity is not imposed on Americans by the "dominant cultural profile," although it is commonly found in the latent or "substitute" culture structure in all institutional sectors, even the most rationalized, in the United States.

In otherwise contrasting discussions of the norm of reciprocity one emphasis is notable. Some scholars, especially Homans, Thurwald, Simmel, and Malinowski, assert or imply that the reciprocity norm stipulates that the amount of the return to be made is "roughly equivalent" to what had been received. The problem of equivalence is a difficult but important one. Whether in fact there is a reciprocity norm specifically requiring that returns for benefits received be *equivalent* is an empirical question. So, too, is the problem of whether such a norm is part of or distinct from a more general norm which simply requires that one return some (unspecified) benefits to benefactors. Logically prior to such empirical problems, however, is the question of what the meaning of

<sup>40</sup> Edward Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, London: Macmillan, 1908, Vol. 2, p. 154.

equivalence would be in the former norm of equivalent reciprocity.

Equivalence may have at least two forms, the sociological and psychodynamic significance of which are apt to be quite distinct. In the first case, heteromorphic reciprocity, equivalence may mean that the things exchanged may be concretely different but should be equal in *value*, as defined by the actors in the situation. In the second case, homeomorphic reciprocity, equivalence may mean that exchanges should be concretely alike, or identical in form, either with respect to the things exchanged or to the circumstances under which they are exchanged. In the former, equivalence calls for "tit for tat"; in the latter, equivalence calls for "tat for tat." Historically, the most important expression of homeomorphic reciprocity is found in the *negative* norms of reciprocity, that is, in sentiments of retaliation where the emphasis is placed not on the return of benefits but on the return of injuries, and is best exemplified by the *lex talionis*.<sup>41</sup>

Finally, it should be stressed that equivalence in the above cases refers to a definition of the exchangeables made by actors in the situation. This differs of course, from holding that the things exchanged by people, in the long run, will be *objectively* equal in value, as measured by economists or other social scientists. Here, again, the adequacy of these conceptual distinctions will be determined ultimately by empirical test. For example, can we find reciprocity norms which, in fact, require that returns be equivalent in value and are these empirically distinguishable from norms requiring that returns be concretely alike? Are these uni-dimensional or multi-dimensional? Similarly, only research can resolve the question whether a norm of retaliation exists in any given group, is the polar side of the norm of reciprocity, or is a distinctive norm which may vary independently of the reciprocity norm. These conceptual distinctions only suggest a set

of research possibilities and have value primarily as guides to investigation.<sup>42</sup>

#### RECIPROCITY AND SOCIAL SYSTEMS

As mentioned above, sociologists have sometimes confused the notion of complementarity with that of reciprocity and have recently tended to focus on the former. Presumably, the reason for this is because of the importance of complementarity in maintaining the stability of social systems. Clearly, if what one party deems his right is accepted by the other as his obligation, their relation will be more stable than if the latter fails to so define it. But if the group stabilizing consequences of complementarity are the basis of its theoretical significance, then the same consideration underwrites with equal potency the significance of reciprocity. For reciprocity has no less a role in maintaining the stability of social systems.

Note that there are at least two ways, not merely one, in which complementarity as such can break down. In the one case, Alter can refuse to acknowledge Ego's rights as his own duties. In the other case, however, Ego may not regard as rights that which Alter acknowledges as duties. The former is commonly viewed as the empirically more frequent and as the theoretically more significant case. That this often seems to be

<sup>42</sup> A further point that fuller discussion should develop concerns the terms "roughly" equivalent. Use of the term "roughly," in one part, indicates that a certain range of concrete behavior will be viewed by the actors as compliance with this reciprocity norm and that more than one specific return will be acceptable and defined as equivalent. The norm of reciprocity *qua* equivalence is thus like most other norms which also tolerate a range of variability. The demand for *exact* equality would place an impossible burden even on actors highly motivated to comply with the reciprocity norm and would yield endemic tensions. Conversely, a notion of "rough" equivalence held by the actors allows for easier compliance with the norm and can be regarded as one of the mechanisms sustaining it. Recognition that the requirement is for "rough" equivalence, however, should not be allowed to obscure the fact that there may be a specific reciprocity norm which does in fact call for equivalence. This would be a distinguishing feature of the hypothesized norm and should no more be concealed by reference to a "rough" equivalent than should the distinctive content of any other norm be obscured by the fact that a variable range of behaviors will be acceptable to those holding it.

<sup>41</sup> It is further indicative of our terminological difficulties in this area that this is often what Piaget spoke of as "reciprocity." For example, "... reciprocity stands so high in the eyes of the child that he will apply it even where to us it seems to border on crude vengeance." J. Piaget, *The Moral Judgment of the Child*, New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1932, p. 216.



taken as a matter of course suggests the presence of certain tacit assumptions about basic human dispositions. It seems to assume, as Aristotle put it, that people are more ready to receive than to give benefits. In short, it premises a common tendency toward what used to be called "egoism," a salient (but not exclusive) concern with the satisfaction of one's own needs.

This or some cognate assumption appears to be eminently reasonable and empirically justified. There can be no adequate systematic sociological theory which boggles at the issue; indeed, it is one of the many virtues of Parsons' work that it confronts the egoism problem. His solution seems to be sidetracked, however, because his overwhelming focus on the problem of complementarity leads to the neglect of reciprocity. If assumptions about egoistic dispositions are valid, however, a complementarity of rights and obligations should be exposed to a persistent strain, in which each party is somewhat more actively concerned to defend or extend his own rights than those of others. There is nothing in complementarity as such which would seem able to control egoism.

One way out may be obtained by premising that socialization internalizes complementary rights and obligations in persons, before they fully assume responsible participation in a social system. Even if socialization were to work perfectly and so internalize such rights and obligations, there still remains the question as to what mechanism can sustain and reinforce these during full participation in the social system. The concept of complementarity takes mutually compatible expectations as given; it does not and cannot explain how they are maintained once established. For this we need to turn to the reciprocities processes because these, unlike pure complementarity, actually mobilize egoistic motivations and channel them into the maintenance of the social system. Benthamite utilitarianism has long understood that egoism can motivate one party to satisfy the expectations of the other, since by doing so he induces the latter to reciprocate and to satisfy his own. As Max Gluckman might put it with his penchant for Hegelian paradox, there is an altruism in egoism, made possible through reciprocity.

Furthermore, the existential belief in reci-

procity says something like this, "People will usually help those who help them." Similarly, the *norm* of reciprocity holds that people should help those who help them and, therefore, those whom you have helped have an obligation to help you. The conclusion is clear: if you want to be helped by others you must help them; hence it is not only proper but also expedient to conform with the specific status rights of others and with the general norm. Both the existential belief in and the norm of reciprocity enlist egoistic motivations in the service of social system stability.<sup>43</sup>

A full analysis of the ways in which the whole reciprocities complex is involved in the maintenance of social systems would require consideration of the linkages between each of its various elements, and their relation to other general properties of social systems. There is no space for such consideration here. Instead, I examine only one part of the complex, namely, the generalized *norm* of reciprocity, and suggest some of the ways in which it contributes to social system stability.

If, following Parsons, we suppose that social systems are stable to the extent that Ego and Alter conform with one another's expectations, we are confronted with the problem of why men *reciprocate* gratifications. Parsons holds that once a stable relation of mutual gratification has been established the system is self-perpetuating; presumably, no special mechanisms are necessary to maintain it. Insofar as this is not simply postulated in analogy with the principle of inertia in physics, apparently reciprocity is accounted for by Parsons, and also by Homans, as a result of the development of a beneficent cycle of mutual reinforcement. That is, Ego's conformity with Alter's

<sup>43</sup> I suppose that one can take two different attitudes toward this transmutation of the base metal of egoism. One can deplore the situation and say with Eliot:

"The last temptation is the greatest treason;  
To do the right thing for the wrong reason."

Or one can adopt the older and perhaps sociologically wiser view that here, once more, "private vices make public benefits," and provide an indispensable basis for the *spontaneous self-regulation* of social systems.

expectations reinforces Alter's conformity with Ego's expectations, and so on.

This explanation of reciprocity *qua* transaction is particularly strange in Parsons' case since he often stresses, but here neglects, the significance of shared values as a source of stability in social systems. So far as the question here is not simply the general one of why men conform with the expectations of others but, rather, the more specific problem of why they *reciprocate* benefits, part of the answer would seem to be that they have commonly internalized some general *moral norm*. In short, the suggestion is that the motivation for reciprocity stems not only from the sheer gratification which Alter receives from Ego but also from Alter's internalization of a specific norm of reciprocity which morally obliges him to give benefits to those from whom he has received them. In this respect, the *norm* of reciprocity is a concrete and special mechanism involved in the maintenance of any stable social system.

Why should such a norm be necessary? Why is it that expedient considerations do not suffice to mobilize motivations to comply with other's expectations, thereby inducing them to provide reciprocal compliances? One major line of analysis here would certainly indicate the disruptive potentialities of power differences. Given significant power differences, egoistic motivations may seek to get benefits without returning them. (It is notable that Parsons fails to define the power situation in his basic model of Ego-Alter equilibrium.) The situation is then ripe for the breakdown of reciprocity and for the development of system-disrupting exploitation. The norm of reciprocity, however, engenders motives for returning benefits even when power differences might invite exploitation. The norm thus safeguards powerful people against the temptations of their own status; it motivates and regulates reciprocity as an exchange pattern, serving to inhibit the emergence of exploitative relations which would undermine the social system and the very power arrangements which had made exploitation possible.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>44</sup> This line of analysis is further strengthened if we consider the possibility that Ego's continued conformity with Alter's expectations may eventually lead Alter to take Ego's conformity for "granted" and thus lead Alter to reciprocate less for later acts

As we have seen, Parsons stresses that the stability of social systems largely derives from the *conformity* of role partners to each other's expectations, particularly when they do their duty to one another. This formulation induces a focus on conformity and deviance, and the degrees and types of each. Presumably, the more that people pay their social debts the more stable the social system. But much more than conformity and deviance are involved here.

The idea of the reciprocities complex leads us to the historical or genetic dimension of social interaction. For example, Malinowski, in his discussion of the Kula Ring, carefully notes that the gifts given are not immediately returned and repayment may take as long as a year. What is the significance of this intervening time period? It is a period governed by the norm of reciprocity in a double sense. First, the actor is accumulating, mobilizing, liquidating, or earmarking resources so that he can make a suitable repayment. Second, it is a period governed by the rule that you should not do harm to those who have done you a benefit. This is a time, then, when men are morally constrained to manifest their gratitude toward, or at least to maintain peace with, their benefactors.

Insofar as men live under such a rule of reciprocity, when one party benefits another, an obligation is generated. The recipient is now *indebted* to the donor, and he remains so until he repays. Once interaction is seen as taking place over time, we may note that the norm of reciprocity so structures social relations that, between the time of Ego's provision of a gratification and the time of Alter's repayment, falls the shadow of indebtedness. An adequate analysis of the

of conformity by Ego. In short, the value of Ego's conformity may undergo an inflationary spiral in which his later conforming actions are worth less than earlier ones, in terms of the reciprocities they yield. As reciprocities tend to decline, the social system may experience mounting strain, either collapsing in apathy or being disrupted by conflict. In this connection, the general norm of reciprocity may serve as a brake, slowing the rate at which reciprocities decline or preventing them from declining beyond a certain (unknown) level, and thus contributing to the stability of the system. This is more fully developed in A. W. Gouldner, "Organizational Analysis," in R. K. Merton *et al.*, editors, *Sociology Today*, New York: Basic Books, 1959, esp. pp. 423 ff.

dynamics of social interaction is thus required to go beyond the question of deviance from or conformity with the parties' obligations to one another. A second basic dimension needs to be examined systematically, namely, the time period when there is an obligation still to be performed, when commitments which have been made are yet to be fulfilled.

These outstanding obligations, no less than those already given compliance, contribute substantially to the stability of social systems. It is obviously inexpedient for creditors to break off relationships with those who have outstanding obligations to them. It may also be inexpedient for *debtors* to do so because their creditors may not again allow them to run up a bill of social indebtedness. In addition, it is *morally* improper, under the norm of reciprocity, to break off relations or to launch hostilities against those to whom you are still indebted.

If this conclusion is correct, then we should not only look for mechanisms which constrain or motivate men to do their duty and to pay off their debts. We should also expect to find mechanisms which induce people to *remain* socially indebted to each other and which *inhibit* their complete repayment. This suggests another function performed by the requirement of only *rough* equivalence of repayment that may be involved in one of the norms of reciprocity. For it induces a certain amount of ambiguity as to whether indebtedness has been repaid and, over time, generates uncertainty about who is in whose debt.<sup>45</sup> This all hinges, however, on a shared

conception of the moral propriety of repayment, engendered by the norm of reciprocity.

Still another way in which the general norm of reciprocity is implicated in the maintenance of social system stability is related to an important attribute of the norm, namely, its comparative indeterminacy. Unlike specific status duties and like other general norms, this norm does not require highly specific and uniform performances from people whose behavior it regulates. For example, unlike the status duties of American wives, it does not call upon them to cook and to take care of the children. Instead, the concrete demands it makes change substantially from situation to situation and vary with the benefits which one party receives from another.

This indeterminacy enables the norm of reciprocity to perform some of its most important system-stabilizing functions. Being indeterminate, the norm can be applied to countless *ad hoc* transactions, thus providing a flexible moral sanction for transactions which might not otherwise be regulated by specific status obligations. The norm, in this respect, is a kind of plastic filler, capable of being poured into the shifting crevices of social structures, and serving as a kind of all-purpose moral cement.

Not only does the norm of reciprocity play a stabilizing role in human relations in the *absence* of a well developed system of specific status duties, but it contributes to social stability even when these are *present* and well established. Status duties shape behavior because the status occupant believes them binding in their own right; they possess a kind of *prima facie* legitimacy for properly socialized group members. The general norm of reciprocity, however, is a second-order defense of stability; it provides a further source of motivation and an additional moral sanction for conforming with specific status

<sup>45</sup> An interesting case of a mechanism serving to create and maintain outstanding obligations is part of the Vartan Bhanji, a form of ritual gift exchange in Pakistan and other parts of India. Eglar's study of this pattern makes it clear that a fundamental rule of Vartan Bhanji is reciprocity, that a gift should be returned for a gift, and a favor for a favor. It is also notable that the system painstakingly prevents the total elimination of outstanding obligations. Thus, on the occasion of a marriage, departing guests are given gifts of sweets. In weighing them out, the hostess may say, "These five are yours," meaning "these are a repayment for what you formerly gave me," and she then adds an extra measure, saying, "These are mine." On the next occasion, she will receive these back along with an additional measure which she later returns, and so on. See Z. E. Eglar, *Vartan Bhanji: Institu-*

*tionalized Reciprocity in a Changing Punjab Village*, Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University, 1958.

Other mechanisms for maintaining outstanding obligations may be found in cultural prescriptions which require men not to be overly eager to repay their social obligations. It still seems to be understood that there is a certain impropriety in this, even if we do not go as far as Seneca in holding that "a person who wants to repay a gift too quickly with a gift in return is an unwilling debtor and an ungrateful person."

obligations. For example, the employer may pay his workers not merely because he has contracted to do so; he may also feel that the workman has earned his wages. The housewife may take pains with her husband's meals not merely because cooking may be incumbent on her as a wife; she may also have a particularly considerate husband. In each case, the specific status duties are complied with not only because they are inherent in the status and are believed to be right in themselves, but also because each is further defined as a "repayment." In sum, the norm of reciprocity requires that if others have been fulfilling their status duties to you, you in turn have an additional or second-order obligation (repayment) to fulfill your status duties to them. In this manner, the sentiment of gratitude joins forces with the sentiment of rectitude and adds a safety-margin in the motivation to conformity.

The matter can be put differently from the standpoint of potential deviance or non-conformity. All status obligations are vulnerable to challenge and, at times, may have to be justified. If, for any reason, people refuse to do their duty, those demanding compliance may be required to justify their claims. Obviously, there are many standardized ways in which this might be done. Invoking the general norm of reciprocity is one way of justifying the more concrete demands of status obligations. Forced to the wall, the man demanding his "rights," may say, in effect, "Very well, if you won't do this simply because it is your duty, then remember all that I have done for you in the past and do it to repay your debt to me." The norm of reciprocity thus provides a second-order defense of the stability of social systems in that it can be used to overcome incipient deviance and to mobilize auxiliary motivations for conformity with existent status demands.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>46</sup> A cogent illustration of this is provided by William F. Whyte: "When life in the group runs smoothly, the obligations binding members are not explicitly recognized. . . . It is only when the relationship breaks down that the underlying obligations are brought to light. While Alec and Frank were friends I never heard either one of them discuss the services he was performing for the other, but when they had a falling out . . . each man complained to Doc that the other was not acting as he should in view of the services which had been

#### STARTING MECHANISMS

Two distinct points have been made about the social functions of the norm of reciprocity. One is that this norm serves a group *stabilizing* function and thus is quite familiar in functional theory. The second point, however, is the view that the norm is not only in some sense a defense or stabilizing mechanism but is also what may be called a "starting mechanism." That is, it helps to initiate social interaction and is functional in the early phases of certain groups before they have developed a differentiated and customary set of status duties.

In speaking of the norm of reciprocity as a "starting mechanism," indeed in conceiving of starting mechanisms, we find ourselves outside the usual perspective of functional theory. Functional theory commonly focuses on already-established, on-going systems, and on the mechanisms by means of which an established social system is enabled to maintain itself. Although functional theory is concerned with the problems of how individual actors are prepared by socialization to play a role in social systems, its general theoretical models rarely, if ever, include systematic treatment of the beginnings of a social system as such and, consequently, do not formally raise the question of the nature of the mechanisms needed to start such a system.<sup>47</sup>

done for him." *Street Corner Society*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945, p. 256.

<sup>47</sup> Modern functionalism emerged in a world in which Newtonian mechanics was the overshadowing scientific achievement and a basic model for the development of social science. The Newtonian standpoint was not, of course, a cosmology concerned with the question of planetary origins but took the existent relations among planets as given. Today, however, two developments of global significance encourage and perhaps require a shift in social perspectives. In one, rocket engineering, the question is raised as to how new, man-made, planets may be "shot" into stable orbits. Secondly, international politics require us to help "underdeveloped" countries to begin a beneficent cycle of capital accumulation which will be self-sustaining. In both instances, practical "engineering" problems forcefully direct attention to the question of "starting mechanisms" and would seem likely to heighten dissatisfaction with general sociological models that largely confine themselves to already established systems.



Every social system of course has a history, which means that it has had its beginnings even if these are shrouded in antiquity. Granted that the question of origins can readily bog down in a metaphysical morass, the fact is that many concrete social systems do have determinate beginnings. Marriages are not made in heaven, and whether they end in divorce or continue in bliss, they have some identifiable origins. Similarly, corporations, political parties, and all manner of groups have their beginnings. (Recent studies of friendship and other interpersonal relations in housing projects have begun to explore this problem.)

People are continually brought together in new juxtapositions and combinations, bringing with them the possibilities of new social systems. How are these possibilities realized? Is such realization entirely a random matter? These are the kinds of questions that were familiar to the earlier students of "collective behavior," who, in focusing on crowds, riots, and rumors, were often primarily concerned with investigating the development of groups in *statu nascendi*.<sup>48</sup> Although this perspective may at first seem somewhat alien to the functionalist, once it is put to him, he may suspect that certain kinds of mechanisms, conducive to the crystallization of social systems out of ephemeral contacts, will in some measure be institutionalized or otherwise patterned in any society. At this point he would be considering "starting mechanisms." In this way, I suggest, the norm of reciprocity provides one among many starting mechanisms.

From the standpoint of a purely economic or utilitarian model,<sup>49</sup> there are certain difficulties in accounting for the manner in which social interaction begins. Let us suppose two people or groups, Ego and Alter, each possesses valuables sought by the other. Suppose further that each feels that the only motive the other has to conduct an ex-

change is the anticipated gratification it will bring. Each may then feel that it would be advantageous to lay hold of the other's valuables without relinquishing his own. Furthermore, suppose that each party suspects the other of precisely such an intention, perhaps because of the operation of projective or empathic mechanisms. At least since Hobbes, it has been recognized that under such circumstances, each is likely to regard the impending exchange as dangerous and to view the other with some suspicion.<sup>50</sup> Each may then hesitate to part with his valuables before the other has first turned his over. Like participants in a disarmament conference, each may say to other, "You first!" Thus the exchange may be delayed or altogether flounder and the relationship may be prevented from developing.

The norm of reciprocity may serve as a starting mechanism in such circumstances by preventing or enabling the parties to break out of this impasse. When internalized in both parties, the norm *obliges* the one who has first received a benefit to repay it at some time; it thus provides some realistic grounds for confidence, in the one who first parts with his valuables, that he will be repaid. Consequently, there may be less hesitancy in being the first and a greater facility with which the exchange and the social relation can get underway.

#### CONCLUSION

I have limited this discussion of the norm of reciprocity to its functions and its contribution to the stability of social systems, omitting examination of its dysfunctions and of the manner in which it induces tensions and changes in social systems. That the norm commonly imposes obligations of reciprocity only "when the individual is able" to reciprocate does not guarantee agreement concerning the individual's "ability." Furthermore there may be occasions when questions as to whether the individual's return is appropriate or sufficient (apart from whether it is equivalent) that arise by virtue of the absence of common yardsticks in terms of which

<sup>48</sup> I am indebted to Howard S. Becker for this and many other insights into what seemed to be the guiding impulses of the "Chicago School" of collective behavior.

<sup>49</sup> Some indications of the utilitarian approach to this problem may be derived from the stimulating paper by T. C. Schelling, "An Essay on Bargaining," *American Economic Review*, 46 (June, 1956), pp. 281-306.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. M. Deutsch, "A Study of Conditions Affecting Cooperation," New York: Research Center for Human Relations, 1955, p. 25, dittoed.

giving and returning may be compared. Moreover, the norm may lead individuals to establish relations only or primarily with those who can reciprocate, thus inducing neglect of the needs of those unable to do so. Clearly, the norm of reciprocity cannot apply with full force in relations with children, old

people, or with those who are mentally or physically handicapped, and it is theoretically inferable that other, fundamentally different kinds of normative orientations will develop in moral codes. I hope to explore these and related problems in subsequent discussions.

## STRUCTURAL EFFECTS

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*In empirical research, social structures are usually characterized, explicitly or implicitly, by frequency distributions of behavior of individuals or relationships among them. Thus, the common culture refers to prevailing values, and group cohesiveness, to pervasive interpersonal bonds. To isolate the external constraints of social values from the influences of the individual's internalized values, that the prevalence of a value in a group is associated with social conduct when this value is held constant for individuals must be demonstrated. Data from a public assistance agency show that the prevailing values in a work group had such structural effects. In some cases, the group value and the individual's orientation had similar, but independent, effects on his conduct; in other cases, they had opposite effects; in still others, the effects of the individual's orientation were contingent on the prevalence of this orientation in the group, a pattern which identifies characteristics associated with deviancy. The same procedure was used to isolate the structural effects of cohesiveness and of the communication network.*

Two basic types of social fact can be distinguished: the common values and norms embodied in a culture or subculture; and the networks of social relations in which processes of social interaction become organized and through which social positions of individuals and subgroups become differentiated.<sup>1</sup> Kroeber and Parsons have recently re-emphasized the importance of this analytical distinction.<sup>2</sup> Many theoretical concepts illustrate the distinction: Weber's Protestant ethic and Sumner's mores exemplify social values and norms, while Marx's investigation of the class structure and Simmel's study of coalitions in triads deal with networks of social relationships.

These concepts refer to attributes of social collectivities, not to those of individuals, but they have counterparts that do refer to characteristics of individuals. Individuals can be described in terms of their orientations and

dispositions, just as groups or entire societies can be described in terms of the prevailing social values and norms; and individuals can be distinguished on the basis of their social status, just as communities can be distinguished on the basis of the status distribution in them.<sup>3</sup> These parallels tend to conceal the fundamental difference between the implications of group structure and those of the individual's own characteristics for his conduct. Even socially acquired or socially defined attributes of individuals are clearly distinct in their effects from attributes of social structures.

Systematic social research has often been criticized for distorting, if not entirely ignoring, crucial characteristics of social structure.<sup>4</sup> Interviewing surveys have provided

<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., Robin M. Williams, Jr., *American Society*, New York: Knopf, 1951, pp. 443-448.

<sup>2</sup> A. L. Kroeber and Talcott Parsons, "The Concepts of Culture and of Social System," *American Sociological Review*, 23 (October, 1958), pp. 582-583.

<sup>3</sup> The relationships between measures of individual attributes and of group attributes are discussed by Patricia L. Kendall and Paul F. Lazarsfeld, "Problems of Survey Analysis," in Robert K. Merton and Paul F. Lazarsfeld, editors, *Continuities in Social Research*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1950, pp. 187-196.

<sup>4</sup> See, e.g., Herbert Blumer, "Public Opinion and Public Opinion Polling," *American Sociological Review* 13 (October, 1948), pp. 542-549.

much information about the influences of attitudes of individuals and their social status on human behavior, but they have contributed little to our knowledge of the structural constraints exerted by common values and status distributions in groups or communities, because sampling procedures tend to make isolated individuals the focus of the analysis. And while ecological studies have examined social units, with a few exceptions,<sup>5</sup> they have not separated the consequences of social conditions from those of the individual's own characteristics for his behavior, because ecological data do not furnish information about individuals except in the aggregate. But the systematic analysis of structural constraints requires, as Merton and Kitt have pointed out, the simultaneous use of indices of social structure and of individual behavior.<sup>6</sup> This paper suggests and illustrates a method for isolating the effects of social structure.<sup>7</sup>

#### SOCIAL VALUES AND NORMS

Social values and norms are common orientations toward social conduct that prevail in a society or group. Social values govern the choice of objectives that are experienced as worth striving for, and social norms differentiate between proper and improper conduct.

Since social values and norms are shared, internalized orientations, the most plausible procedure for ascertaining them in empirical research would seem to be to determine, first, what values the members of a number of communities hold and, then, which ones of

these are shared by members of any given community. For example, one could administer the F-Scale to a sample of the American population<sup>8</sup> and divide communities on the basis of whether authoritarian values are more or less prevalent. Let us assume that such a study finds that the relative prevalence of authoritarian values in a community is associated with a high degree of discrimination against minorities. (We shall also assume that other relevant conditions have been controlled and that we have evidence that authoritarianism is the antecedent variable and discrimination the dependent one.) Two conclusions could be drawn from this finding: first, if a community has an authoritarian subculture, discriminatory practices will prevail in it; second, if an individual has an authoritarian personality, he will tend to discriminate against minorities.

There is a fundamental difference between these two interpretations: the former implies that social processes external to individual personalities are responsible for the differences in discrimination; the latter that internal psychological processes are responsible. To be sure, the prevalence of authoritarian dispositions in some communities and not in others may well be largely due to differences in their social structures. What the determinants of prevailing values are, however, has no direct bearing on what their consequences are or on how these consequences are effected. These are the issues under consideration here. The individual's orientation undoubtedly influences his behavior; the question is whether the prevalence of social values in a community also exerts social constraints upon patterns of conduct that are independent of the influences exerted by the internalized orientations.

The sociologist assumes that this is the case. But how can one demonstrate that social values and norms exert *external* constraints upon the acting and thinking of individuals if they only exist in the minds of individuals? Durkheim, who is concerned with various aspects of this problem in most of his writings, suggests a

<sup>5</sup> For example: Robert E. L. Faris and H. Warren Dunham, *Mental Disorders in Urban Areas*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939.

<sup>6</sup> Robert K. Merton and Alice S. Kitt, "Contributions to the Theory of Reference Group Behavior," in Merton and Lazarsfeld, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-83; see also pp. 70-81. Cf. Samuel A. Stouffer *et al.*, *The American Soldier*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949, Vol. II, pp. 242-272, for a notable exception to the tendency of ignoring effects of social structure in survey research.

<sup>7</sup> I have briefly discussed this method in "Formal Organization," *American Journal of Sociology*, 63 (July, 1957), pp. 63-65. Structural effects are a special type of the "contextual propositions" discussed by Paul F. Lazarsfeld in "Problems in Methodology," in Robert K. Merton *et al.*, editors, *Sociology Today*, New York: Basic Books, 1959, pp. 69-73.

<sup>8</sup> T. W. Adorno *et al.*, *The Authoritarian Personality*, New York: Harper, 1950.



specific answer in *Suicide*. After admitting, notwithstanding his social realism, that "social consciousness" exists only in individual minds, he states that the social force it exerts, nevertheless, is "external to each average individual taken singly."<sup>9</sup>

The common values and norms in a group have two distinct kinds of effect upon the conduct of its members. Ego's conduct is influenced by his own normative orientation for fear of his conscience, and ego's conduct is also influenced by alters' normative orientation for fear of social sanctions. In other words, people conform to prevailing norms partly because they would feel guilty if they did not and partly because they gain social approval and avoid disapproval by doing so. This conception is somewhat oversimplified. It ignores, for example, the fact that the strength of ego's normative orientation itself is in part due to the reinforcement it receives from the social sanctions of alters. Despite its oversimplification, however, this analytical distinction makes it possible to demonstrate empirically the external constraints exerted by social values and norms by differentiating them from the influences of the internalized orientations of individuals.

The structural effects of a social value can be isolated by showing that the association between its prevalence in a community or group and certain patterns of conduct is independent of whether an individual holds this value or not. To return to our illustration: if we should find that, regardless of whether or not an individual has an authoritarian disposition, he is more apt to discriminate against minorities if he lives in a community where authoritarian values prevail than if he lives in one where they do not, we would have evidence that this social value exerts external constraints upon the tendency to discriminate—structural effects that are independent of the internalized value orientation of individuals.

#### DIRECT EFFECTS

To illustrate the method of analysis suggested above and the distinguishable types

of structural effects, data from a pilot study of a public assistance agency will be used.<sup>10</sup> The clients who came to the agency as applicants for general public assistance constituted the poorest stratum in a large American city. The primary job of the caseworker was to determine whether new applicants are eligible for public assistance and to check recurrently whether old recipients continue to be eligible. This involved visiting the clients in their homes and a considerable amount of paper work in the office. Many workers tried to provide some casework service as well, although their ability to do so was limited by their heavy work loads—the average number of cases per worker was over 120—and by their lack of training—the majority of workers had only a college degree and no professional training in social work.

Caseworkers were organized into units of five or six under a supervisor. After a period of observation in the agency, the members of twelve supervisory units were interviewed. The analysis presented below is based on these interview responses of 60 caseworkers who were members of twelve work groups. Not quite half of these workers were women; one-third of them were Negroes; and one-third had been with the agency less than one year, which indicates the high rate of turnover of personnel characteristic of public assistance agencies.

When caseworkers were asked whether the amount of public assistance should be increased, remain the same, or be decreased, one-half stated unequivocally that it should be increased; the majority of the rest felt that an increase is needed only for certain special cases, for example, clients who must pay high rent; and a few thought that no increase is necessary. Nobody suggested that the amount should be decreased. The number of correlations between this item and other measures of orientation to clients is larger than that of any other, which suggests that it is indicative of a fairly basic aspect of orientation to clients.

Does the prevalence of pro-client values in a group affect the performance of duties

<sup>9</sup> Émile Durkheim, *Suicide*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1951, p. 316 (italics in original); see also pp. 309-320 for what may be Durkheim's most perceptive discussion of the problem.

<sup>10</sup> Philip M. Marcus was of great help in the collection and analysis of these data. I am also indebted to the Social Science Research Committee of the University of Chicago, which provided the funds for this study.

of its members independently of the individual's own attitude to clients? The description by workers of what they did when visiting clients provides a measure of their orientation in the performance of duties. It indicates that some largely confined their work to checking on eligibility, whereas others were also concerned with furnishing casework service. To isolate the structural effects of pro-client values, groups are divided on the basis of whether or not a majority of group members favors raising the assistance budget for all clients, and within each type of group, individuals are divided into those that favor an increase in assistance for all clients and those that do not. The first item in Table 1 shows that individuals with pro-client attitudes were more often service oriented in their work than others (compare adjacent columns). It also shows, and this is the pertinent finding, that regardless of their own attitudes, members of groups in which pro-client values prevailed were more apt to be oriented toward casework service than members of groups with other values (compare alternate columns). Of the pro-client individuals, 60 per cent in pro-client

groups and 44 per cent in other groups were service-oriented; of the other workers, 44 per cent in pro-client groups and 27 per cent in other groups were service-oriented.

Although the differences in the proportion of service-oriented workers associated with contrasting group values are not large, they are just as large as those associated with contrasting individual attitudes. (The combination of group value and individual attitude made a considerable difference for orientation toward work: only about one-quarter of the workers who neither had pro-client attitudes nor were in groups where pro-client values prevailed were service-oriented, compared to three-fifths of those with pro-client attitudes most of whose co-workers shared these pro-client values.) Moreover, other measures of performance reveal the same pattern of relationships with group values. For example, making relatively few field visits generally implied the provision of more intensive services. Individuals with pro-client attitudes tended to make slightly fewer visits to recipients than other workers, and whatever the individual's attitudes were, he was more prone to make

TABLE 1. EFFECTS OF VALUE ORIENTATION TOWARD CLIENTS

	Group's Prevailing Value Orientation toward Clients			
	Positive		Not Positive	
	Individual's Orientation		Individual's Orientation	
	Positive	Not Positive	Positive	Not Positive
1. Orientation to Work				
Checking eligibility	30%	56%	56%	55%
Intermediate	10	0	0	18
Casework service	60	44	44	27
Total	100	100	100	100
2. Visits to Recipients*				
Forty or less per month	59	50	44	31
Over 40 per month	41	50	56	69
Total	100	100	100	100
3. Delegating Responsibility to Clients				
Unwilling to delegate	45	22	67	50
Willing to delegate	55	78	33	50
Total	100	100	100	100
4. Involvement with Work				
High (worry much)	75	44	89	68
Low (worry little)	25	56	11	32
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	20	9	9	22

\* This information is taken from performance records; since insufficient information was available for the newer workers the totals for this item in the four columns, reading from left to right, are: 17, 6, 9, 13.

fewer visits if he was a member of a group in which pro-client values prevailed than of a group with different values (see Table 1, #2). Although all these relationships are small, their consistency makes it unlikely that they are entirely due to chance.<sup>11</sup>

These findings suggest that the social values that prevail in a work group do exert external constraints upon the thinking and acting of its members. If pro-client values prevail in a group, merely checking on the eligibility of clients meets with social disapproval while providing casework services gains a worker approval and respect. But this is not the case if pro-client values do not prevail; indeed, the opposite may be the case. In other words, the pro-client values of the members of a group motivate them not only to furnish more intensive service to their own clients but also to express social approval of colleagues who are service-oriented and social disapproval of those who are not. In response to those sanctioning patterns, individuals tend to modify their approach to clients.

The conclusion that pro-client group values have structural effects on the performance of duties rests on the assumptions that the relationships observed are not spurious and that pro-client values are the independent variable in these relationships. Differences in supervision might constitute a correlated bias that accounts for the relationships, but examination of the data reveals that this is not the case. Of course, this does not exclude the possibility of other influential correlated biases, and neither can the possibility be excluded that pro-client values are actually consequence rather than antecedent in these relationships. But this is a

limitation of cross-sectional studies, not of the method of isolating structural effects. Given more adequate data than those used here for illustrative purposes, this method makes it possible to demonstrate structural effects as firmly as the effects of a characteristic of individuals can be demonstrated.

#### INVERSE EFFECTS

The structural effects of the prevailing values in a group are not necessarily parallel to the effects of the individual's value orientation. In some respects pro-client group values and the individual's own pro-client attitudes have opposite implications for his conduct.

In this agency, clients received money to buy clothing when needed; the caseworker and his supervisor exercised considerable discretion in establishing this need. In some other public assistance agencies, recipients receive a regular clothing allowance, which they spend at their own discretion. Respondents were asked whether they would favor giving such a regular allowance to clients. This change would save the caseworker some tedious and time-consuming work, but it would also deprive him of discretionary power over clients and their welfare.

Individuals with pro-client attitudes were less willing than others to delegate this responsibility to clients, but the prevalence of pro-client values in a group increased the willingness to delegate it (see Table 1, #3)—from one-third to 55 per cent for pro-client workers, and from one-half to 78 per cent for others. Pro-client values had the same kind of inverse structural effect on the extent to which workers worried about their cases after working hours: individuals with pro-client attitudes worried more than others, but the members of groups in which pro-client values prevailed worried less than the members of other groups (see Table 1, #4).

The fact that an individual is favorably disposed toward clients would be expected to increase his concern for their welfare and the gratification he receives from helping them, and thus to make him eager to exercise responsibilities that permit him to furnish more help to them and that make them grateful to him. If most members of a group share pro-client values, their common interest in the welfare of clients will induce them to develop at least implicit normative standards

<sup>11</sup> Structural effects cannot be expected to account for most of the variance in dependent variables, but since there are a mere 60 cases divided into four unequal columns, only large differences would be statistically significant. It was necessary, therefore, to include in the illustrations findings that are not significant at the .05 level. (But it should be noted that each type of structural effect was observed repeatedly.) Since the respondents are not a representative sample, the applicability of tests of significance is questionable in any case. For a recent criticism of the indiscriminate use of statistical tests of significance, see Hanan C. Selvin, "A Critique of Tests of Significance in Survey Research," *American Sociological Review* 22, (October, 1957), pp. 519-527.

that promote the interest of clients. They are likely to react with social disapproval toward a colleague whose involvement leads him to lose his temper when talking to a client or toward one who uses his discretion not to help clients more but to withhold help from them or to hold a club over their heads. Discussion of such experiences by pro-client members of a group may lead to an agreement that the interest of clients is best served by encouraging detachment and the delegation of responsibilities to them. Or these group members may adopt explicit professional standards of social work, according to which a worker should remain detached toward his clients and foster their independence by letting them make their own decisions. The members of groups where pro-client standards do not prevail are less apt to adopt professional casework standards.

Such inverse structural effects of social values call attention to the importance of social norms. Since the emotional reaction to pro-client dispositions is greater involvement and an unwillingness to delegate responsibility, whereas the welfare of clients is best served by detachment and delegation of responsibility, the workers most interested in the welfare of clients are psychologically least able to provide effective service to them. But the prevalence of positive values in a group promotes the development of casework standards, which curb the psychological consequences of pro-client feelings that impede effective service. Professional training in social work probably leads to the internalization of these casework standards, but the untrained workers in this agency had not fully internalized them; if they had, no inverse structural effects would have been observed.

#### CONTINGENCY EFFECTS

The influence of the prevalence of social values in a group may be more indirect than in the examples discussed above. Instead of having an effect on a third variable that is independent of the individual's value orientation, it may determine whether the individual's value orientation and a third variable are related or how they are related. In technical terms, the group values and the individual's orientation may have an interaction effect on a third variable. Conceptually,

this implies that the relationship between the individual's orientation and another variable is contingent on the prevalence of this value orientation in his group.

All assistance budgets made out by caseworkers were reviewed by an audit section. Caseworkers tended to accuse auditors of being too rigid about eligibility procedures and too little concerned with the welfare of clients, and conflicts with them were frequent. In groups most of whose members were service-oriented, the individual's orientation had no bearing upon his conflicts with auditors; seven out of every ten workers, whatever their orientation, reported such conflicts. In groups where an eligibility orientation prevailed, however, the individual's orientation made a pronounced difference; all five of the service-oriented workers reported conflicts with auditors, in contrast to less than half of the 24 workers oriented toward eligibility (see Table 2). It seems that the chances of conflict with auditors decline only if neither the individual's own orientation nor that of the other members in his group demand that he place serving the interests of clients above strict conformity with eligibility procedures.

The extreme case of contingency effect is the one where the relationship between the individual's orientation and another factor becomes reversed, dependent on the prevalence of the orientation in the group. The extent of involvement with the work had such contingency effects. Respondents were asked how often they worry about their work after working hours, which is the measure of involvement used; then they were asked to exemplify what they worry about. The illustrations of the majority reveal worries about clients: "If they'd have enough to eat over the weekend," "Problems the people have—I hope that a deserted family can manage—I remember the expressions on their faces." But some workers worried about their own performance: "If you mean their personal problems, then the answer is, no; but I worry about the record which is open to the supervisor's checking."

If involvement—that is, extensive worrying—prevailed in a group, there was an inverse relationship between the individual's involvement and whether he worried about clients rather than his own performance, but



TABLE 2. EFFECTS OF ORIENTATION TOWARD WORK

	Group's Prevailing Orientation			
	Casework Service		Checking Eligibility	
	Individual's Orientation		Individual's Orientation	
	Service	Eligibility	Service	Eligibility
Reported Conflicts with Auditors				
None	29%	30%	0%	54%
Some	71	70	100	46
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	21	10	5	24

if involvement did not prevail in a group, these two factors were directly related. The implications of this interaction effect can be clearly seen when percentages are computed horizontally (for each half-row) instead of vertically, as in Table 3, #1. If all the members within any given group were alike in their involvement, 100 per cent of those in groups with much involvement would be highly involved, but none of those in groups with little involvement. In other words, the two central columns (marked by a single asterisk) of the table represent the deviants—the lows in groups with much involvement and the highs in groups with little involvement. It is evident that workers mostly concerned with their clients' welfare were deviants in disproportionate numbers in both kinds of groups. They were *more* apt than workers primarily concerned with their own performance to be involved in groups where involvement was rare, but they were *less* apt than the others to be involved in groups where involvement was common.<sup>12</sup> Indeed, they apparently were not at all influenced by the prevailing group climate; whether they were in groups where the majority was involved or in groups where the majority was not, about half of these client-identified workers were highly involved. In contrast to only two of the 16 workers who were concerned about their performance, 17 of the 32 who were concerned with their clients' welfare deviated from the group climate. This suggests that identification with clients is a source of strength which makes a

worker somewhat independent of peer group pressures.

This finding has a general methodological implication. Whenever the distribution of value orientations in a group and the individual's value orientation show such an interaction effect on a third variable, the latter differentiates members who tend to deviate from the standards of their own group from those who tend to conform to them, regardless of what these standards are. For this pattern of findings inevitably indicates that the X's have orientation Y *more* often than the non-X's in groups where this orientation is rare but *less* often than the non-X's in groups where it is common, which means that the X's tend to be the deviants whatever the prevailing orientation of the group.

Several studies have investigated the relationship between an individual's social integration among peers or his informal status and his conformity or resistance to group pressure.<sup>13</sup> An important problem is whether social integration increases, or decreases, resistance to group pressure independent of the kind of pressure involved. The procedure outlined above facilitates the study of the relationship between social position and response to *opposite* kinds of group pressure.

Individuals who were integrated in their work group were more prone than those who were not to deviate from the prevailing group climate in respect to involvement. (Whether a worker was called by his first name by

<sup>12</sup> Contrary to what this finding seems to imply, differences in supervisory practices were not associated with amount of worrying.

<sup>13</sup> See, e.g., George C. Homans, *The Human Group*, New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1950, pp. 140-144; and Harold H. Kelley and M. M. Shapiro, "An Experiment on Conformity to Group Norms," *American Sociological Review*, 19 (December, 1954), pp. 667-677.

TABLE 3. PATTERNS OF DEVIANCY IN RESPECT TO INVOLVEMENT WITH WORK

	Group's Dominant Climate							
	Much Involvement				Little Involvement			
	Individual's Involvement				Individual's Involvement			
	High	Low *	Total	N **	High *	Low	Total	N **
1. Source of Worries								
Client's welfare	47%	53%	100%	19	54%	46%	100%	13
Own performance	39	11	100	9	14	86	100	7
Not asked ***				3				9
2. Status in Work Group								
Integrated	50	50	100	18	50	50	100	16
Not integrated	62	38	100	13	0	100	100	13
3. Self-Confidence								
High	50	50	100	8	50	50	100	10
Low	57	43	100	23	16	84	100	19

\* These two columns represent the deviants—the lows in much-involved groups and the highs in little-involved groups.

\*\* The number of cases on which the percentages, computed horizontally for each half-row, are based.

\*\*\* Respondents who said they never worried, and thus are classified among those with low involvement, could not be asked what they worried about; they are, therefore, not considered in this comparison.

some of the other members of this group, as reported by the others, is the measure of social integration used.) In groups where the majority was involved with their work, integrated workers were slightly less likely to be involved than others, but in groups where the majority was not involved, integrated workers were more likely to be involved than others (see Table 3, #2). In other words, whether much or little involvement characterized the group climate, the integrated workers were more apt than the rest to deviate from it. Their resistance to group pressure is indicated by the fact that their involvement was quite independent of the group climate; the proportion of integrated workers who were involved in their work was the same in groups with much involvement as in groups with little involvement. One-half of the 34 integrated workers deviated from the prevailing group climate, as contrasted with only one-fifth of the 26 unintegrated workers.

This finding seems to be typical. If other measures of orientation toward work and clients are substituted for involvement, and if other aspects of informal status are used instead of integration, one also finds superior status among peers associated with the tendency to deviate from the prevailing orientation in a group regardless of the par-

ticular content of this orientation.<sup>14</sup> Since it is improbable that deviation creates more liking and respect than conformity, the opposite direction of influence is the plausible inference. The acceptance and respect of his colleagues provides a worker with social support. His consequent feelings of security apparently permit him to resist group pressures and depart from group norms more readily than can the worker whose insecure position provides strong incentives to improve his standing and to court social approval through strict conformity. This interpretation implies that self-confident workers are more prone to deviate from the prevailing group pattern than those lacking in self-confidence. Indeed, this seems to have been the case (see Table 3, #3).<sup>15</sup>

#### SOCIAL COHESION

An important aspect of the network of social relations in a group is the strength of

<sup>14</sup> But informal status was differently related to orientation to the supervisor. For a discussion of the implications of these and similar findings, see my paper, "Patterns of Deviation in Work Groups," *Sociometry*, forthcoming.

<sup>15</sup> The measure used is the respondent's confidence in his ability to work without supervision. Several indices of informal status, such as popularity, were directly related to self-confidence, but the index of integration used here was not.

the bonds that unite its members—the group's social cohesion. One possible procedure for measuring group cohesion is to ascertain how strongly each member is identified with the group and compute some average. The objection that such an index is purely phenomenological and does not pertain to the group structure could be met by isolating the structural effects of group identification, using the method suggested in this paper.

Another measure of group cohesion, which Festinger and his colleagues have made popular, is based on ingroup sociometric choices, for example, the proportion of friendship choices made by the members of a group.<sup>16</sup> The conception of cohesion underlying this measure has been criticized by Gross and Martin because it emphasizes "individual perceptions and minimizes the importance of the relational bonds between and among group members."<sup>17</sup> Sociometric measures, however, are indicative of relational bonds, since they are based on reports of choices made by one individual and received by another. Moreover, the alternative the authors propose is not likely to bring us closer to a structural definition of cohesion. They suggest that it should be measured by subjecting groups to disruptive forces of varying degrees and observing when they "begin to disintegrate."<sup>18</sup> But the sign of beginning disintegration would undoubtedly be that some members quit the group, or that some stop attending meetings, and an index based on such signs of disintegration relies as much on the strength of the group ties of individual members as does Festinger's sociometric index.<sup>19</sup>

Nevertheless, Gross and Martin's criticism should not be summarily dismissed. It draws attention to the important distinction between group structure and interpersonal relations. To be sure, interpersonal relationships (and relationships between subgroups, if they exist) are the very core of group structure. But atomizing group structure into

its component interpersonal relations is as little justified as reducing groups to the individual personalities who compose them. Group structure refers to the distribution or network of social relationships, which may have a significance that is quite distinct from that of the social relationships in which specific individuals are involved. Thus, it cannot be assumed that the influence of the network of cohesive bonds in a group is the same as that of the interpersonal bonds of individual group members. The method of isolating structural effects makes it possible to distinguish between these two kinds of influence—those exerted by the prevalence of cohesive ties in a group and those exerted by the integrative ties of the individual members.

#### EFFECTS OF SOCIAL COHESION

Group cohesion is operationally defined in terms of ingroup sociometric choices. Respondents were asked to name the five persons in the agency with whom they were most friendly. The median proportion of ingroup choices is used to divide groups into cohesive and non-cohesive ones. Within each type of group, individuals are divided on the basis of whether or not they received ingroup choices. (An alternative procedure would have been to divide individuals by the ingroup choices they made. But if we accept the notion that cohesion is related to group attractiveness, and wish to hold constant the aspect of the individual's interpersonal relations that is most parallel, received choices, which indicate attractiveness, are preferable to choices made.)

Cohesion in these work groups had structural effects on the approach of caseworkers to clients, that is, effects that were independent of the individual's interpersonal bonds in the group. Respondents were asked, "What are the things clients do that are particularly trying?" The answers of some reveal behavior of clients they considered a personal affront—"Demands get under my skin, or a client's trying to tell me my job," "If they cheat on me it makes me awfully mad"—whereas those of others refer to behavior that is improper or harmful to the client and his family—"... they were winos, constantly drunk and beating each other up," "... she hadn't even gotten her children

<sup>16</sup> Leon Festinger et al., *Social Pressures in Informal Groups*, New York: Harper, 1950.

<sup>17</sup> Neal Gross and William E. Martin, "On Group Cohesiveness," *American Journal of Sociology*, 57 (May, 1952), p. 554.

<sup>18</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>19</sup> See also Lazarsfeld's discussion of this controversy, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-59.



TABLE 4. EFFECTS OF GROUP COHESION

	Group Cohesion			
	High		Low	
	Individual's Attractiveness		Individual's Attractiveness	
	High	Low	High	Low
1. Reaction to Clients *				
Personal	38%	34%	70%	80%
Impersonal	62	66	30	20
Total	100	100	100	100
2. Total Field Visits **				
Sixty or less per month	60	67	77	82
Over 60 per month	40	33	23	18
Total	100	100	100	100
3. High Respect for Own Supervisor				
Present	76	58	50	41
Absent	24	42	50	59
Total	100	100	100	100
4. Orientation to Work				
Checking eligibility	29	59	50	53
Intermediate	18	8	7	6
Casework Service	53	33	43	41
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	17	12	14	17

\* Since some clients were not asked this question, the column totals for this item, reading from left to right, are: 13, 6, 10, 15.

\*\* This information is taken from performance records; insufficient information for newer workers reduces the column totals for this item to: 15, 6, 13, 11. The total number of visits rather than only visits with recipients are used here, where concern is with productivity.

the routine inoculations." Thus, some workers reacted in personal terms and objected to behavior of clients when they felt offended, while others reacted in accordance with generally accepted rules of conduct and objected to behavior of clients not primarily because it was discourteous to them but because it was morally wrong.<sup>20</sup>

The members of cohesive groups were less apt to take personal affront at the behavior of clients than those of less cohesive groups, and this difference persists if the individual's sociometric position is held constant (see Table 4, #1). Only about one-third of the former, in contrast to over two-thirds of the latter reacted in personal terms. The prevalence of supportive ties in cohesive groups is a source of emotional strength for their members. The absence of extensive ego support in

less cohesive groups throws their members upon other social resources for this support, such as their relations with clients. If an individual defines an interpersonal relationship as a potential source of ego support, he is apt to react in personal terms, feeling insulted or more or less appreciated, but if he does not, it is easier for him to take the view of an outsider and judge the behavior of others in accordance with impersonal criteria. Apparently, it is the general extensive support of group cohesion rather than the specific intensive support of the individual's own interpersonal ties that promotes an impersonal approach in social interaction with clients. Only group cohesion was associated with this approach; the individual's sociometric position was not.

Performance, too, was influenced by social cohesion. Data taken from production records show that the members of cohesive groups, whether or not they personally received

<sup>20</sup> This distinction is related to Parsons' distinction between particularism and universalism.

sociometric choices, tended to make more field visits than those of other groups (see Table 4, #2). Since numerous field visits indicate both that much work has been accomplished and, probably, that less intensive service has been furnished, one may deduce from the finding either that cohesion fosters the fulfillment of tasks or that it lessens concern with the provision of much service to clients. Two factors, however, make the first inference the more probable: cohesion is not inversely related to a service orientation, as the second interpretation implies; and a number of other studies suggests that cohesion promotes high productivity.<sup>21</sup>

When asked to choose the best supervisors in the organization, members of cohesive groups were more prone to name their own supervisor than members of less cohesive groups (see Table 4, #3). Independent of this relationship, individuals who received sociometric choices from the ingroup were also somewhat more likely to name their own supervisor than others. Perhaps the fact that a supervisor commands the respect of his workers increases the chances that cohesive ties will develop among them. But it is also possible that the absence of strong ingroup bonds produces strains and tensions which find expression in more critical attitudes toward the supervisor.

A contingency effect is illustrated by the implications of ingroup choices for the caseworker's orientation to his work; that is, group cohesion and its individual counterpart had an interaction effect upon whether a worker was oriented primarily toward checking eligibility or toward casework service. In groups with low cohesion, whether or not an individual received ingroup choices did not influence his orientation, but in groups with high cohesion, individuals who received choices from their peers were less apt than others to confine themselves to checking on

the eligibility of clients (see Table 4, #4). Social support from prevailing cohesive bonds and from specific interpersonal bonds both seem to be necessary to reduce the chances that workers will confine their work to rigid enforcement of eligibility procedures. The group and the individual measure of ingroup choices also had interaction effects on other indications of strict adherence to established procedures, such as ritualistic punctuality and opposition to change in the rules defining responsibilities.

#### EFFECTS OF COMMUNICATION STRUCTURE

Instrumental as well as socio-emotional patterns of social interaction form into networks of social relationships which characterize group structures. The pattern of friendly associations among workers is one aspect of the social structure of the work group, the pattern of communication assumed by their consultations and discussions of problems is another. The two are not unrelated, but neither are they identical.

The procedure used to define the communication structure is a familiar one. Respondents were asked with which colleagues they usually discuss their problems; they were free to name any number of colleagues, either members of their own group or outsiders. On the basis of the ingroup choices, groups are divided into those with relatively dense and those with sparse internal communication networks, and within each type of group, individuals are divided according to whether or not they were named as regular consultants by two or more colleagues.

In several instances, the structural effects of this consultation network were quite similar to those of social cohesion. Both aspects of group structure, for example, had closely parallel consequences for the respect workers accorded to their supervisor. In other cases, however, their impact was different. Thus, the consultation structure did not influence a worker's reaction to the behavior of clients in personal or impersonal terms. In still other respects, the degree of reciprocity in the consultations of a group rather than their frequency had effects that paralleled those of cohesion. For instance, reciprocity in consultation, like cohesion, was associated with high productivity (many field visits). Further research with a larger number of groups

<sup>21</sup> A pioneering study, of course, is F. J. Roethlisberger and William J. Dickson, *Management and the Worker*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951, pp. 1-186. For a more recent study, see Daniel Katz and Robert L. Kahn, "Some Recent Findings in Human Relations Research in Industry," in Guy E. Swanson et al., editors, *Readings in Social Psychology*, New York: Holt, 1952, pp. 650-665. Neither these investigations nor the findings reported here can exclude the alternative interpretation that low productivity impedes cohesion.

TABLE 5. EFFECTS OF COMMUNICATION NETWORK

	Extent of Communication in Group			
	Much Consultation		Little Consultation	
	Individual's Position		Individual's Position	
	Consultant	Not	Consultant	Not
Attitudes to Clients				
Negative	25%	36%	8%	9%
Qualified	17	36	42	36
Positive	58	28	50	55
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	12	14	12	22

is needed to derive generalizations about the different implications of various aspects of group structure.

The density of the group's communication network had an interesting double effect on attitudes toward clients, as indicated by attitudes toward increasing the amount of assistance. Negative attitudes were more common in groups where consultation was frequent than in those where it was rare (see Table 5). Whether a worker was regularly consulted or not, he was three times as likely to oppose any increase in the assistance allowance if he was a member of a group in which consultation was prevalent than one in which it was rare. This does not mean, however, that the individual's social status—how often he was consulted—was entirely unrelated to his attitude toward clients. But whether or not these two factors were related was contingent on the group structure. In groups whose members consulted little the attitude of consultants toward increasing public assistance did not differ from that of others, but in groups whose members consulted much consultants were more likely to advocate an increase than non-consultants. Hence, the group's communication network had two effects on the attitudes toward clients: first, frequent communication fostered more negative attitudes; and second, such communication partly determined whether or not the individual's position in the communication network influenced his attitudes toward clients. Furthermore, while the frequency of consultation in a group was associated with *negative* attitudes toward clients, the fact that an individual member of a group where consultation prevailed was often

consulted was associated with *positive* attitudes.<sup>22</sup>

To interpret this finding, it is necessary to examine briefly the strained relations between caseworkers and clients in this agency. There were many reasons for conflict. Most clients were in dire need and had strong incentive to conceal any slim resources they might have had or otherwise to try to increase the amount of assistance they would get even if this required some dishonesty. Caseworkers, many of whom came to the agency directly from college with idealistic views about helping people, tended to experience what Everett Hughes has called a "reality shock" when they encountered clients who, instead of appreciating their help, lied to them and broke their promises, and whose values were so different from their own. Even when a worker tried to help clients he sometimes found that they blamed him for limitations the agency's procedure imposed on him. Caseworkers protected themselves against such frustrating experiences by developing and publicly flaunting a hardened attitude toward clients. Their discussions among themselves were dominated by aggressive remarks and jokes about clients. Many workers were undoubtedly much more favorably disposed toward recipients than their statements to colleagues indicated. Even those who clearly had positive attitudes toward

<sup>22</sup> An earlier study makes the parallel finding that a competitive work group was less productive than a cooperative one, but in the former group competitive individuals were more productive than others; see Peter M. Blau, *The Dynamics of Bureaucracy*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955, pp. 49-67.

clients seemed to feel compelled to present a hardened front by making aggressive remarks about them when talking to colleagues. This pattern of relieving tension appears to be typical of work groups whose members experience conflicts with clients.<sup>23</sup> Most members of this agency did not have a callous attitude toward clients, but expressing anti-client sentiments was the prevailing norm.

The enforcement of social norms requires an effective network of communication in a group. Hence, a group with a strong communication network will be more effective in enforcing the prevailing anti-client norms than one with a weak network. To be sure, the anti-client norms in this organization were not so severe as to include opposition to any increase in the assistance allowance; after all, only a minority of respondents expressed such opposition. However, the more effective the enforcement of general anti-client norms in a group, the greater the chances that some of its members will take an extreme position—one more extreme than that called for by the norms—and this is what the finding shows. Informal status in a group, as data presented earlier suggest, is inversely associated with conformity to the normative orientation toward clients. In groups with communication networks that permit effective enforcement of anti-client norms, non-consultants, whose low status makes them subject to the full impact of group pressures, therefore have more negative attitudes toward clients than consultants, whose high status removes them somewhat from group control. But in groups where consultation is rare, the status of consultant has less significance, and since, moreover, the prevailing anti-client norms are not effectively enforced in these groups, whether or not an individual is regularly consulted does not influence his attitudes toward clients. These considerations also explain the seeming paradox: the fact that there is much consultation in a group and the fact that a member of such a group is much consulted have opposite consequences for attitudes toward clients. An effective network of communication increases the group's power to enforce prevailing anti-client norms, but the

superior status of consultant reduces the individual's conformity to these group norms.

#### CONCLUSIONS: TYPES OF STRUCTURAL EFFECTS AND THEIR STUDY

Robinson has criticized research based on ecological correlations for implicitly assuming that these indicate relationships between the characteristics of individuals, and he has demonstrated that an ecological correlation between, say, the proportion of Negroes and the proportion of illiterates in an area does not prove that more Negroes than whites are illiterate.<sup>24</sup> Menzel has pointed out, however, that ecological studies may well be concerned with relationships between aspects of social structures without making any assumptions about relationships between attributes of individuals.<sup>25</sup> But Robinson's strictures apply also to Menzel's sociological conception. If the psychologically oriented investigator assumes that ecological correlations are due to correlations between traits of individuals, the sociologically oriented analyst assumes that they are *not*, and neither assumption is warranted. A correlation between divorce rates and suicide rates, for example, might be sociologically interpreted to indicate that anomie in the marital institutions of a society, operationally defined by a high divorce rate, increases suicide rates. This theory clearly implies that the ecological correlation is *not* entirely due to the fact that divorced persons are more apt to commit suicide than married ones; for if it were, a much simpler explanation would suffice. To demonstrate that it is anomie, as measured by divorce rates, rather than the psychological state or personality of the divorced individual that is responsible for high suicide rates, it is necessary to show that married as well as divorced persons have higher suicide rates in countries where divorce is frequent than in those where it is rare. This, of course, is precisely how Durkheim tested his theory of anomic suicide.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>24</sup> W. S. Robinson, "Ecological Correlations and the Behavior of Individuals," *American Sociological Review*, 15 (June, 1950), pp. 351-357.

<sup>25</sup> Herbert Menzel, "Comment on Robinson's 'Ecological Correlations and the Behavior of Individuals,'" *American Sociological Review*, 15 (October, 1950), p. 674.

<sup>26</sup> Durkheim, *op. cit.*, pp. 259-276. The hypothesis

<sup>23</sup> For another illustration of this pattern, see *ibid.*, pp. 82-96.



Durkheim, then, some sixty years ago, illustrated the method of isolating structural effects. The essential principle is that the relationship between the distribution of a given characteristic in various collectivities and an effect criterion is ascertained, while this characteristic is held constant for individuals. This procedure differentiates the effects of social structures upon patterns of action from the influences exerted by the characteristics of the acting individuals or their interpersonal relationships. If a structural effect is observed, it invariably constitutes evidence that social processes originating outside the individual personality are responsible for the differences in the dependent variable, since the influences of psychological processes have been controlled in the analysis. The futile arguments of whether or not a certain concept or empirical measure is *really* a social factor can be dismissed if this method of analysis is employed, since its results demonstrate whether social forces or psychological ones produce given effects regardless of the empirical index used to define the independent variable. Take such an individualistic characteristic as intelligence. If it were found that the average IQ scores in fraternities are associated with the scholastic records of their members when the individual's score is held constant, there could be no doubt, provided other relevant conditions are controlled, that the level of intelligence in a fraternity influences performance on examinations through social processes (although, of course, the finding would not show whether these processes involve social stimulation of learning or collaboration on examinations).

A tentative typology of structural effects can be derived by classifying them along two dimensions. The first distinguishes between the consequences of the common values or shared norms of a collectivity and those of its networks of social relationships or distribution of social positions. Second, either of these two basic aspects of the social structure can have direct effects, inverse effects, and contingency effects. (Still another type is that where the variance of a characteristic in a group, rather than its frequency, exerts an

influence upon social conduct. But such an association between the variance and an effect criterion usually indicates the impact of a social force even when the characteristic is not held constant for individuals,<sup>27</sup> and therefore this type, which generally requires no special method of analysis, is not discussed in this paper.)

These two dimensions differentiate six types of structural effects:

1. *Direct structural effects of common values* indicate that the individual's conduct is influenced not only by the motivating force of his own value orientation but also by the social pressure resulting from the shared values of the other members of the group. In a public assistance agency, for example, a worker's positive orientation toward clients seemed to increase his tendency to provide casework services, and quite independently of the individual's orientation, the prevalence of a positive orientation in a group also made it more likely that casework services were provided.

2. *Inverse structural effects of common values* suggest that group values give rise to normative constraints that counteract the individual's psychological reaction to his own value orientation. Thus, the individual's positive attitude to clients tended to *increase* his involvement with his work and his unwillingness to delegate responsibility to recipients, but the prevalence of positive attitudes in a group tended to *decrease* involvement and unwillingness to delegate responsibility.

3. *Contingency effects of common values* are those in which the distribution of a value in a group influences the correlation between the individual's value orientation and a third variable. In the extreme case, the prevalence of the value in a group determines whether this correlation is positive or negative, and this pattern of findings identifies the deviants. It shows that individuals with a certain characteristic in terms of the third variable are more prone than others to resist group pressures and deviate from group norms regardless of the specific content of these norms. Whether most members of a group

is confirmed only for men; Durkheim advanced another though related interpretation to account for the suicide rates of women.

<sup>27</sup> Only if the distribution of the characteristic is not normal is there a need to control it for individuals when ascertaining the structural effects of its variance.

were much involved with their work or only little involved, those with an integrated status among peers, for instance, were more apt than others to deviate from the prevailing group climate, and so were workers identified with clients.

4. *Direct structural effects of relational networks* abstract the supportive or constraining force exerted by the social organization of the relationships between individuals and subgroups in a collectivity from the influences of each member's interpersonal relationships or social status. This is illustrated by the findings that group cohesiveness, defined by the extent of ingroup ties, apparently promoted a more impersonal approach to clients and high productivity, and that these effects were independent of the ingroup ties particular individuals had established.

5. *Inverse structural effects of relational networks* are indicative of the fact that the status distribution or network of social relations in a collectivity has an impact which is the very opposite of that of the individual's social status or his social relationships. A perfect case is the well-known finding reported by Stouffer that a soldier's rank was directly associated with favorable attitudes toward the army's promotion system, but the proportion of high-ranking enlisted men in a military unit was inversely associated with favorable attitudes.<sup>28</sup> A more complex instance of this type has been observed in the public assistance agency: in work groups where consultation was frequent, negative attitudes toward clients were more prevalent than in other groups, but individuals who were often consulted had more positive attitudes than those who were not; however, this difference between individuals existed only in groups where consultation was common and not in those where it was rare.

6. *Contingency effects of relational networks* are those in which the association between the individual's social position or relations and another factor depends on the distribution of social positions or relations in the collectivity. This pattern of findings demonstrates that individuals whose social status differs from that of the majority in their group, regardless of the nature of this difference, also tend to have different char-

acteristics in another respect. Contingency effects of status variables identify the implications of minority status as such, just as contingency effects of normative variables identify the correlates of deviancy as such. For example, Zena S. Blau finds that the proportion of widowed in an age-sex category determined the influence widowhood had on the friendships of older people. Among men in their sixties, only a small minority of whom were widowed, the widowed had much less extensive friendships than the married; but among women over seventy, three-quarters of whom were widowed, the widows had slightly more extensive friendships than the married women. Older people whose marital status places them in a minority position among age-sex peers seem to have less chance to maintain friendship ties than others.<sup>29</sup>

This list of effects of social structures is tentative and incomplete. Further refinements are needed, for example, with respect to differences in the nature of the dependent variable, and with respect to the distinction between large societies and small groups. Omitted from the enumeration are influences of those aspects of social structures that are not manifestations of frequency distributions, such as the form of government in a community, because in these cases there are no corresponding individual characteristics to be held constant. However, even if the empirical measure of social structure is not based on a frequency distribution but the theoretical conception implies one, corresponding characteristics of individuals should be controlled. Thus, if we are concerned with the differential impact on social conduct of democratic and authoritarian cultures, rather than with that of political institutions, and use the form of government in a country merely as an inexpensive and indirect index of its culture, we implicitly refer to differences in prevailing value orientations and should control the individual's value orientation in order to distinguish the external constraints of culture patterns from the influences of internalized values.

The method of isolating structural effects presented above underestimates the social constraints of structural differences, since the prevalence of certain shared values or social

<sup>28</sup> Stouffer et al., *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 250-254.

<sup>29</sup> Zena S. Blau, "Structural Constraints on Friendships in Old Age," forthcoming.

relationships in some collectivities and not in others, which is taken as given, is also often due to social forces, specifically, processes of socialization. It cannot be simply assumed, however, that any observed group pattern is the result of socialization. Other processes, such as differential selection, might be responsible. Moreover, whatever its plausibility, the claim that the common values of communities are social in origin and the product of processes of socialization is a hypothesis that requires empirical confirmation, and testing this hypothesis involves the use of procedures essentially similar to those discussed in this paper. To demonstrate its validity requires evidence that individuals who do not have a certain orientation but live in communities where this orientation pre-

vails are more apt to develop such an orientation over time than those in other communities. Thus, Lazarsfeld and Thielens use this procedure to show that members of conservative university faculties are more apt to become increasingly conservative as they grow older than members of less conservative faculties.<sup>30</sup> In diachronic as well as synchronic investigations where social structures are defined, explicitly or implicitly, in terms of frequency distributions, structural effects on patterns of conduct must be analytically separated from the influences of the individuals' own characteristics or interpersonal relations.

<sup>30</sup> Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Wagner Thielens, Jr., *The Academic Mind*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1958, pp. 247-250.

## THE ENGLISH RECORD OF A NATURAL SOCIOLOGY \*

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*Many of the meanings of words of ordinary languages have to do with persons and society. A collection of such meanings can be called a natural sociology. Whether or not this is a satisfactory description depends upon finding in such a collection the signs of some orderly response to society. Historical stabilities are used here to test just such an ordered scheme of awareness in the English semantic record. A number of stabilities are found to have lasted many centuries. In spite of profound changes in the semantic record, a constant scheme of sociological awareness appears to have been fitted to the English language. A way to study collective representations is demonstrated by this inquiry.*

THE conventional meanings of words are social facts. Since they are understandings attributed to others, they are assigned by everyone making use of them "the noteworthy property of existing outside the individual consciousness"<sup>1</sup> of any single

person. In line with his first rule of the sociological method that we "consider social facts as things," Durkheim proposed the examination and comparison of languages, as well as myths, legends, and traditions, in order to find "the manner in which social representations adhere to and repel one another, how they fuse or separate from one another," and how any such "social morphology" is to be explained. The English language is treated here as a body of social facts, as a registry of a vast array of collective representations of sorts of persons, of actions, and of other social features that are indicated in the common meanings of English words. These notions of society and of persons in society are

\*This paper was planned during the summer of 1958 while I was attending a conference on Behavioral Science at the University of New Mexico under the sponsorship of the United States Air Force, Office of Scientific Research, Behavioral Science Division. My participation in the conference was made possible by the Society for the Investigation of Human Ecology. I wish to thank James L. Monroe of the Society and Ralph D. Norman, principal investigator of the Behavioral Science Conference, for their interest in this work. I also thank the Council on Research and Creative Work of the University of Colorado for its support of research leading up to this study.

<sup>1</sup> The quotations in this paragraph are from

Emile Durkheim, *The Rules of Sociological Method*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1958, pp. 2, 14, 11, and 82, respectively.

sociological comprehensions manifest to people themselves involved in society.

Such understandings can be called *natural* if they freely occur without deliberate professional direction. Whether such collections can properly be called "sociologies" depends upon the discovery in them of *ordered schemes of awareness of society*.<sup>2</sup> In this study I examine the English semantic record in the search for the rudiments of such a scheme. Since natural sociological materials of this type make up a large portion of the vocabularies of all ordinary languages, an accounting of them and of any order that prevails for them can be a useful step in the analysis of social facts put into words.<sup>3</sup>

The ideas about society set forth as the meanings of words are plentiful, and many of them are old and durable. This durability is impressive and is therefore pointed out in the subsequent discussion, which proceeds by showing the precedence in ancient meanings for many current sociological concepts. This comparison of professional with long-established non-professional ideas is simply one way of illustrating the power in a natural language for sociological expression. I am concerned, not only with the durability of individual ideas, since this durability is a critical characteristic of collective representations, but, for the purposes of this paper especially, with the possible stabilities of whole categories of ideas. Certain stabilities and regularities in modes of recognition of society are revealed over the course of many centuries by patterns in the development of

meanings of English words. These stabilities are the principal indicators discussed below of an ordered scheme of sociological awareness naturally expressed through the English language. Before searching a sample of historically located English meanings for traces of these stabilities, some old sociological notions that have emerged as professional concepts should be noted.

#### SOME HOARY USAGES

Consider the idea of society as a collective representation. Society is a word. It was first brought into the English language in 1531 to describe companionship.<sup>4</sup> A more

<sup>4</sup> All dated meanings in this paper are taken from James A. H. Murray, Henry Bradley, W. A. Craigie, and C. T. Onions, editors, *The Oxford English Dictionary, being a corrected Re-Issue . . . of A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles, founded mainly on the Materials collected by the Philological Society*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1933, 12 Volumes with Supplement. Plans for this dictionary were started in 1857, and it appeared in press in 125 fascicules extending from 1884 to 1928. As stated in the preface to Vol. I, the aim of the dictionary is to present "the words that have formed the English vocabulary from the time of earliest records down to the present day, with all the relevant facts concerning their form, sense-history, pronunciations and etymology. It embraces not only the standard language of literature and conversation, whether current at the moment, or obsolete, or archaic, but also the main technical vocabulary, and a large measure of dialectal usage and slang. Its basis is a collection of some five million of excerpts from English literature of every period amassed by an army of voluntary readers and the editorial staff." The dictionary is the largest collective effort in scholarship ever attempted, and I should say that it is the most successful. It is intended to be a complete census of a great population of words and understandings. Like any census, it is characterized by under-enumeration, the extent of which has never been thoroughly estimated. I have the impression that under-enumeration of words and meanings is negligible for that portion of the language called common English, which includes the most frequently used terms and notions, and that it increases for colloquialisms and the specialties of science and for foreign words sometimes used as English. For instance, G. Shubba Rao in *Indian Words in English*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1954, discovered 28 words not included among the 1037 Indian words noted by the *Oxford English Dictionary* as being borrowed prior to 1900 from the languages of India—an under-enumeration of 2.63 per cent. Since none of these words attained even what could be called rare usage in England proper, the percentage is not at all representative

<sup>2</sup> A natural sociology, however orderly, is of course not a science, especially since it can be filled with untested, unrestrained, and unabandonable propositions about social objects. Perhaps such a sociology can be accepted as an *approach* to science because it is, indeed, propositional regarding social reality. It is not clear, certainly, whether many systematic bodies of theory that have remained untested in professional sociology are any more scientific than the natural sociology discussed in this paper.

<sup>3</sup> Two other studies of the history of meanings follow analytical approaches very similar to that employed here. See Robert J. Potter, "Cultural Growth in Eight American Economic Activities," unpublished Master of Arts thesis, University of Colorado, 1954; and Hall Sprague, "Culture Histories of Three Industries in England between 1000 and 1900," unpublished Master of Arts thesis, University of Colorado, 1957.



TABLE 1. EARLIEST ENGLISH USAGES OF TERMS COMMONLY FOUND IN PRESENT-DAY SOCIOLOGY \*

Word	Earliest Dated Use of the Term	Earliest Natural Sociological Meaning	Earliest Sociological Meaning More Commonly Found in Present-Day Sociology
Personality	c1380	c1380: the quality, character, or fact of being a person as distinct from a thing; that quality or principle which makes a being personal.	1795: that quality or assemblage of qualities which makes a person what he is, as distinct from other persons; distinctive personal or individual character. . . .
Culture	1420	1483: worship; reverential homage.	1871: the civilization of a people (Tylor cited).
Structure	c1440	1637: a social edifice; "The structure of religion."	1660: "the whole structure of his <i>civitas</i> " (1803: "the structure of society").
Institution	c1460	c1460: The action of establishing; foundation; ordination.	1551: an established law, custom, usage, practice or other element in the social life of a people.
Society	1531	1531: association with one's fellow men, especially in a friendly or intimate manner; companionship or fellowship.	1553: the state or condition of living in association, company, or intercourse with others . . . ; the system or mode of life adopted by a body of individuals for the purpose of harmonious co-existence or for internal benefit, defense, etc.
Function	1533	1533: the kind of action proper to a person as belonging to a particular class, especially the holder of any office; hence the office itself, an employment, trade, calling, profession.	1862: Spencer cited
Role (Rôle)	1606	1606: the part or character which one has to play, undertake, or assume (chiefly figuratively with reference to the part played by a person in society or life).	(see earliest natural meaning)
Norm	1635	1635: (norme) a model, standard, a pattern: "These conditions which serve for a norme and a pattern . . . to forme their lives and actions by." (The latin word <i>norma</i> , appeared in English in 1676 as a term indicating a law or standard.)	(see earliest natural meaning)
Status	1671	1791: the legal standing or position of a person as determined by his membership in some class of persons legally enjoying certain rights or subject to certain limitations.	1820: position or standing in society.

\* Twenty-two sociologists were asked to call quickly to mind ten terms that they associate with present-day sociology. Each of the words in this table was suggested by six or more persons.

TABLE 1.—Continued

Word	Earliest Dated Use of the Term	Earliest Natural Sociological Meaning	Earliest Sociological Meaning More Commonly Found in Present-Day Sociology
Group	1686	1748: an assemblage of persons standing near together so as to form a collective unity (in early use often a notion of confused aggregation).	1809-10: a number of persons regarded as forming a unity on account of any kind of mutual or common relation, or classed together because of a certain degree of similarity.
Interaction	1832	1832: reciprocal action; action or influence of persons on each other.	(see earliest natural meaning)

common sociological meaning of society occurred in 1553 when the term was first used in English to indicate a mode of life stressing general human association. The original sociological designations of society were of course not devised by professional social scientists. Indeed, almost all of the established technical vocabulary of sociology has been taken over from the common stock of words in ordinary languages, and there is hardly a widely-received sociological term that was not long ago assigned a non-professional and yet clearly sociological meaning. Most of these natural sociological meanings for terms that ultimately were pre-empted by professional sociology were introduced into the English language long before the word sociology became an English term in 1843. Table 1 displays a few of these natural meanings associated with some of the words that found currency in sociology.

of the general under-enumeration of the dictionary, which, I believe, is far below one per cent for the thirteen centuries prior to 1900 in England proper. By examining manuscripts as well as printed records, Rao discovered more than 200 usages appearing before the dates of earliest usage in English indicated by the dictionary. Again, most of these usages have meanings rarely used in England. They do indicate, however, that the spans of usage in the dictionary can in many instances be actually shorter than usage spans that may ultimately be discovered. The dates of earliest usages discussed in this study, accordingly, must be thought of as showing usages occurring at least as early as the years recorded. In most instances they are the earliest dates that will ever be found. The materials of this study may be regarded as the standard surviving and assembled record to 1930. No general record of comparable size and scope has been prepared since that time. *The Oxford English Dictionary* is the greatest historical compilation of named collective representations ever brought together into one reference source.

In a selection of 600 terms drawn from the *Dictionary of Sociology*<sup>5</sup> I found only seventeen for which sociological definitions are not given in *The Oxford English Dictionary*. Of these seventeen only folkways, mores, normlessness, plurel, and socialization are not listed at all as English words.<sup>6</sup> An additional 36 terms, including such words as exogamy, societal, socius, and tele-sis, are listed in *The Oxford English Dictionary* as contributions of professional social scientists. The remaining 547 terms were used long ago to express ideas identical with or corresponding closely to present-day sociological concepts. The dates of earliest recovered usages of a number of these concepts are noted in Table 2. The 583 sociological ideas recorded in *The Oxford English Dictionary* yield an average date of 1590 for earliest recorded usages. A large number of the leading topics and notions of sociology—like life and death and fevers and chills in medicine, or heat and mass and particles in physics—were delineated in ancient times,

<sup>5</sup> Henry Pratt Fairchild, editor, *Dictionary of Sociology*, New York: Philosophical Library, 1944. This dictionary is arranged to include not only the leading terms of sociology, but also many that are important in anthropology, economics, psychology, psychoanalysis, political science, statistics, history, housing, and social work; therefore a random sample could not be drawn from the dictionary to secure a list of distinctive sociological terms. I used my own judgment in selecting 600 words that seemed to have wide sociological usage; see Table 2 for examples. Fairchild was assisted by 97 authorities in the compilation of this dictionary.

<sup>6</sup> Folkways, mores, and socialization are found in several dictionaries in use today. In a casual search I have not run across either normlessness or plurel in any English-language dictionary.

TABLE 2. DATES OF EARLIEST INTRODUCTIONS INTO THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE OF IDEAS IDENTICAL WITH OR SIMILAR TO CONCEPTS NOW IN CURRENT USE IN PROFESSIONAL SOCIOLOGY

Action (social), 1393	Leisure, c1375
Adolescence, 1430	Love, c825
Aggression, 1704	Majority, 1691
Agnation, 1611	Man, c825
Anomie (Anomy), 1591	Mob, 1688
Association, 1535	Nation, a1300
Behavior, 1490	Occupation, a1340
City, c1380	People, a1275
Class (social), 1772	Person, a1225
Community, a1660	Play, c1200
Conformity, 1494	Power, 1297
Consanguinity, c1380	Rural, 1590
Control (social), 1786	Social, 1729
Cooperation, 1611	Suburbs, c1380
Crowd, 1567	Symbol, 1590
Custom, c1200	Town, 1154
Elite (Élite), 1823	Tribe, 1596
Fact (social), 1545	Urban, 1619
Family, 1545	Value, c1380
Information, c1450	Village, c1386
Kin, c825	Welfare (social), 1303
Law, c1000	Youth, a897

however much more effectively defined they may be today.

Ideas that have been put to professional use constitute a small selection from the total store of concepts of man in society to be found in any great historical vocabulary. Approximately 400,000 English formulations of the social world are presented as meanings of parts of speech of various kinds in *The Oxford English Dictionary*.<sup>7</sup> The substantives among these parts of speech are of special interest. Substantives are names. Over 200,000 English responses to social phenomena are articulated through substantives. In effect over 200,000 English collective representations of society have been recognized and named. From a sample of these named representations, some of the features of a natural sociology expressed through the English language are depicted below.

#### THE SAMPLE

A selection was made of 2,081 ideas about persons, groups, and social constructs of whatever sort, constituting all of the sociological ideas indicated by all substantives appearing on 155 pages drawn at random

<sup>7</sup> The estimates in this paragraph of numbers of ideas are based upon a sample of approximately one per cent of the meanings in the dictionary.

from *The Oxford English Dictionary*. In addition to the outright designation of persons, groups, social organizations, and other social formations, and of supernatural beings that act like persons, the sample includes references to demeanors, behaviors, actions, activities, and accomplishments of persons and groups, and to personal and social characteristics, characterizations, conditions, situations, and circumstances, as well as to processes, actions, and instruments of action directed towards persons and groups. The sample excludes all notions not indicated by substantives and all ideas about the physical and biological world, excepting ideas about human bodies that contribute to the characterization of persons. Descriptions of tools and instruments for use on physical and biological things were excluded, unless, as in the case of daggers and stethoscopes, they are ordinarily intended to be used in actions on persons. Many evaluations and judgments were included in the sample, most of them unfavorable modes of response to persons. Ideas about places and time that are instrumental to human action and characterization were included. The sample is made up largely of common sense notions about humans, human experience, and human achievements. Common sense judgments<sup>8</sup> were employed

<sup>8</sup> The reader must take on trust that the materials investigated in this inquiry consist of meanings secured without alteration from the editors of the dictionary, who in turn obtained these meanings without alteration from the writers of various works, who in turn had many persons in mind whom they treated as being capable of understanding without distortion the senses intended by their words. To use a phrase that Harold Garfinkel has found to be crucial in his studies of the dependence of science on common sense thinking, "the interpretive work" that has gone into the development of the simplest meaning in any language is tremendous. This interpretive work does not stop with persons whose words are quoted in the dictionary, nor does it stop with the editors. All of us have contributed to the nature and selection of the data for this study by taking for granted (as a matter of common sense) that the understandings interpreted by the editors and me are indeed shared meanings expressed through the English language, even when we know that no demonstration of any precise synonymy of meaning has been accomplished: we do not share ideas; we assume that we share signs to the effect that we share ideas. See Harold Garfinkel, "The Rational Properties of Scientific and Common Sense Activities," read at the second Air Force Interdisciplinary Behavioral Science Conference, University of New Mexico, 1958, also Edward Rose, "Uni-

in selecting the sample to distinguish human events from physical and biological events that presumably can take place without human intervention or interpretation. The sample includes approximately one per cent of all sociological understandings, as just described, that are to be found in the dictionary. And it constitutes just over one-third of the 6,201 meanings indicated by all parts of speech found on the 155 pages.

The sample itself is not random, even though it is based on the reading of randomly selected pages. I know of no way to obtain random samples from a dictionary that does not involve complete enumeration of all the materials in the dictionary. Because meanings are not given equal space in most dictionaries, spot sampling or any similar mechanical procedure does not give equal chances to all materials for inclusion in the sample. The sampling undertaken here is comparable to trench sampling in archaeology, which similarly is not random, although trenches may be randomly located in a site.

The present sample was collected in three parts and their historical profiles were compared. Since they exhibit identical peaks and troughs, it seems reasonable to assume randomness in the sample for purposes of analysis.

Every meaning in *The Oxford English Dictionary* is accompanied by one or more dated citations indicating how and when it has been used. The earliest and latest recovered dates of usage are thus provided for every named idea in the English language from 600 A.D. to 1930. Because dates before 1300 are generally approximate and the records for the early centuries and for the present century are sparse or unassembled, the historical period is limited to the 600 year span from 1300 through 1899. This limitation reduced the sample to 1,967 ideas about persons and society.

Here are illustrations of some of the named ideas encountered in the whole period from 600 A.D. to the present:

1. There are 559 designations of persons. Earliest and latest recovered dates of usage

formities in Culture: Ideas with Histories," prepared for the same conference. Both of these papers are scheduled to appear soon in a volume edited by Norman F. Washburne.

include, for example: *trueman* (a good follower), 1297-1400; *creancier* (a creditor), 1382-1708; *abecedary* (a beginning scholar), 1607-1623; *howdy* (a midwife), 1725-1832.

2. The conduct, manners, actions, and attainments of persons—especially persons occupying social offices—are often part of or otherwise confounded with the actions, activities, and achievements of groups, organizations, and other social bodies; they are not separated in a general category of actions, activities, and accomplishments set up for this study. For the whole period studied, 694 named ideas fall into this category. For example: *lyke-wake* (watch kept at night over a dead body), c1386-1878; *abearing* (behavior, conduct), 1494-1708; *chirm* (the mingled din or noise of many voices, the "hum" of school children, and so on), 1547-1622; *company-keeping* (association with companions, viewed usually as evil), 1592-1626; *reacher* (an exaggerated statement), 1613-c1661; *medisance* (evil speaking, slander), 1656-1664; *lanterloo* (a game of cards), 1668-1711; *simagre* (an affected air or look), 1678-1700; *writation* (poor or insipid writing), 1778-1787; *scraping* (scraping the feet to show disapproval of a speaker or sermon), 1785-c1801; *gospel* (a doctrine preached with fervor as a means to political or social salvation), 1790-1878.

3. Only 114 ideas of types of groups, organizations, and other collectivities were discovered. For example: *company* (an assemblage, party or band), 1290-1870; *generation* (the offspring of the same parents or parent, regarded as a single degree or step in the descent of a person or family from an ancestor), c1300-1835; *generation* (the whole body of persons born about the same time), a1340-1874; *company* (a body of soldiers), c1380-1874; *menkind* (the male sex, men-folk), 1387-1898; *company* (a medieval trade guild), 1389-1868; *Alma Mater* (a name applied to a university by its students), 1398-1866; *the wild Irish* (uncouth Irishmen), 1399-1857; *company* (guests collectively), 1579-1883; *town* (the civic community or body of citizens as distinct from members of a university), a1647-1913; *townsfolk* (people who live in town), 1737-1833.

4. Designations of social times and places, as distinct from physical events and locations



which presumably do not require human involvement for their occurrence, make up another small but clearly recognizable set of sociological ideas. These include only 147 cases, including the following examples: *town* (a hamlet with little or no local organization), c725-1888; *rest* (residence, abode), c825-1847; *town* (the farmstead or homestead on a farm or holding), c890-1888; *town* (an inhabited place larger and more regularly built than a village, and having more complete and independent local government), 1154-1809; *eve* (the evening and hence the day before a saint's day or other church festival), c1290-1884; *olympiad* (a period of four years reckoned from one celebration of the Olympic games to the next, by which the ancient Greeks computed time), 1398-1882; *ish* (the conclusion of a period of time, such as the expiry of a legal term or a lease), 1502-1886; *commandery* (a landed estate or manor, or group of manors, belonging to an order of knights, and placed under the charge of a member of the order), 1534-1858.

5. The remainder of the collection consists largely of still other references to human circumstances and to the characteristics of persons and of collectivities. Included here are ideas of social rights, such as the following: *soc* (a right of local jurisdiction), 1228-1874; *franchise* (a privilege or exceptional right granted by a sovereign power to any person or body of persons), 1386-1892. A small number of offices or other social situations are characterized and named: *calibre* (the degree of social standing or importance, quality, or rank of a person), 1567-1870; *pastorate* (the office of a pastor), a1795-1901. Instruments of social actions or actions on persons are also named: *gospel tree* (a tree used in the marking of boundaries), 1648-1801; *bootikin* (an instrument of torture), 1727-1834. Ideas about personal characteristics are frequently encountered, for example: *sluggardness* (slothfulness, laziness), 1398-1891; *sobermindedness* (sobriety of mind), 1767-1875; *rumgumption* (common sense), a1770-1872; *brilliancy* (brightness of wit, manner, and so on), 1796-1864.

The distributions in time of several of these diverse kinds of sociological ideas drawn from the sampled pages are shown in

Table 3. Distributions of this type were analyzed in the search for stable relationships between sorts of ideas occurring in spite of drastic changes in their historical appearances.

#### CHANGES AND STABILITIES

Changes in the accumulation of semantic resources in the English language are related, of course, to the growth and spread of English-speaking populations and to the changing textures of their experiences and interests. Many circumstances have affected the addition and loss of meanings in the language: the cultivations of the arts and sciences; the general advancement of learning; the borrowing of names and of named ideas from other languages; the patronage or censorship of drama and the other arts; changing styles of speech and writing and changing prosperities in printing and publication; the creation of glossaries, dictionaries, and encyclopaedias; reactions to the fortunes of class, church, sect, nation, and war; accommodations to secularization, urbanization, and industrialization; and experiences associated with trade, travel, and colonialism.

A strong correlation seems to hold between the appearance of prominent persons involved in the changing events of English history and the introductions of new named ideas marking these events. Tallies of distinguished men and of named ideas yield similar historical profiles defining periods of outstanding achievement. For named ideas, the most remarkable periods are the ages of Chaucer at the close of the fourteenth century, of Shakespeare ending the sixteenth and extending into the seventeenth Century, perhaps of Milton in the middle of the seventeenth century, and certainly most of the nineteenth century. The eighteenth century, with Dr. Johnson and his dictionary, is made out by the record in Table 3 to be notably uncreative in the fitting of English names to ideas.<sup>9</sup> The record for the whole

<sup>9</sup> I do not wish to stress this observation about the eighteenth century: the number of sources from that century examined by the dictionary editors is smaller than the number found in the seventeenth century. I have not discovered whether history or the sampling practices of the editors have biased these records.

TABLE 3. THE TEMPORAL DISTRIBUTION OF ENGLISH SOCIOLOGICAL NOTIONS

Period	Innovations of All Sorts of Notions <sup>4</sup>	All Sociological Notions <sup>1</sup>					Notions of Sorts of Persons <sup>2</sup>					Notions of Sorts of Action <sup>3</sup>				
		Proposals <sup>4</sup>	Acceptances <sup>5</sup>	Survivals <sup>6</sup>	Losses <sup>7</sup>	Natural Increase (c-e)	Proposals <sup>4</sup>	Acceptances <sup>5</sup>	Survivals <sup>6</sup>	Losses <sup>7</sup>	Natural Increase (h-j)	Proposals <sup>4</sup>	Acceptances <sup>5</sup>	Survivals <sup>6</sup>	Losses <sup>7</sup>	Natural Increase (m-o)
		(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)	(j)	(k)	(l)	(m)	(n)	(o)	(p)
Totals through 1799 4177		1401	882	558	324	558	381	226	143	83	143	458	300	192	108	192
Totals through 1929 6201		2081	1116	—	—	—	560	291	—	—	—	694	378	—	—	—
Through 899 63		15	14	8	—	14	3	3	2	—	3	2	2	2	—	2
900-99 30		7	7	2	—	7	—	—	—	—	0	3	3	1	—	3
1000-99 70		12	12	5	1	11	1	1	1	—	1	3	3	1	—	3
1100-99 21		5	4	1	—	4	1	1	—	—	1	1	1	—	—	1
1200-39 75		25	17	13	6	11	3	2	1	—	2	9	5	4	1	4
1240-99 83		25	21	11	4	17	7	5	2	—	5	4	4	3	2	2
1300-09 57		28	24	9	2	22	7	5	2	—	5	10	8	3	—	8
1310-19 5		5	4	1	1	3	1	1	—	—	1	2	1	—	—	1
1320-29 14		4	2	2	—	2	2	1	1	—	1	2	1	1	—	1
1330-39 20		4	4	2	—	4	3	3	1	—	3	—	—	—	—	0
1340-49 33		8	6	3	—	6	1	1	1	—	1	1	1	—	—	1
1350-59 45		7	5	2	1	4	1	1	1	—	1	1	—	—	—	0
1360-69 11		3	2	1	—	2	1	1	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	0
1370-79 55		17	14	5	1	13	3	3	1	1	2	9	7	4	—	7
1380-89 122		45	41	27	2	39	10	9	5	—	9	13	12	7	1	11
1390-99 54		19	15	9	—	15	3	3	1	—	3	6	5	2	—	5
1400-09 64		20	12	5	3	9	7	4	3	2	2	4	2	—	—	2
1410-19 10		3	3	—	—	3	1	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	0
1420-29 46		15	13	8	1	12	5	5	2	—	5	7	6	4	—	6
1430-39 22		8	5	4	1	4	4	3	3	—	3	1	—	—	—	0
1440-49 57		21	19	11	3	16	6	4	2	—	4	12	12	8	—	12
1450-59 45		12	8	5	1	7	4	2	2	1	1	4	3	1	—	3
1460-69 29		10	8	4	1	7	3	3	2	—	3	2	1	1	1	0
1470-79 45		12	10	5	3	7	4	4	2	—	4	6	4	3	—	4
1480-89 56		18	14	7	5	9	4	3	2	1	2	9	7	2	2	5
1490-99 25		10	9	4	—	9	2	1	—	—	1	4	4	2	—	4
1500-09 31		11	8	4	6	2	1	—	—	2	—2	3	2	1	4	—2
1510-19 34		14	9	6	3	6	6	3	3	1	2	2	2	1	1	1
1520-29 49		14	9	2	3	6	2	1	—	—	1	4	3	1	—	3
1530-39 104		35	25	12	3	22	5	4	2	1	3	13	9	2	—	9
1540-49 81		37	21	9	5	16	14	3	2	2	1	12	7	2	3	4
1550-59 77		27	15	9	4	11	8	2	—	2	0	8	7	4	1	6
1560-69 83		22	17	11	5	12	2	2	2	2	0	10	9	5	3	6
1570-79 116		35	24	14	5	19	9	8	5	2	6	11	8	4	1	7
1580-89 133		45	33	19	1	32	21	16	8	1	15	7	6	5	—	6
1590-99 264		74	48	24	12	36	26	20	11	6	14	16	9	3	1	8
1600-09 159		54	32	20	22	10	18	10	7	7	3	20	15	9	8	7
1610-19 169		64	34	22	11	23	21	9	3	4	5	24	15	10	3	12
1620-29 106		35	23	14	13	10	10	6	3	2	4	14	8	5	9	—1
1630-39 104		32	15	10	9	6	4	1	1	5	—4	13	8	6	1	7
1640-49 170		67	33	26	14	19	15	6	5	5	1	31	15	13	7	8
1650-59 205		68	35	23	22	13	18	9	6	2	7	22	12	7	8	4
1660-69 124		38	19	17	15	4	9	4	4	3	1	13	9	8	5	4
1670-79 94		33	16	9	17	—1	11	3	1	3	0	13	8	5	5	3

TABLE 3.—Continued

(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)	(j)	(k)	(l)	(m)	(n)	(o)	(p)
1680-89 101	38	18	13	9	9	9	5	4	3	2	15	7	5	4	3
1690-99 71	29	12	11	7	5	10	4	4	3	1	7	3	2	2	1
1700-09 94	39	21	17	17	4	13	6	5	4	2	12	8	8	8	0
1710-19 90	34	18	16	14	4	8	3	2	3	0	10	6	6	5	1
1720-29 92	34	19	17	9	10	12	10	8	1	9	8	5	5	3	2
1730-39 61	22	13	12	7	6	6	2	2	2	0	7	3	3	—	3
1740-49 43	16	7	7	5	2	5	1	1	1	0	5	2	2	2	0
1750-59 82	19	13	12	8	5	3	2	1	1	1	7	5	5	3	2
1760-69 61	35	15	13	12	3	10	6	5	3	3	14	3	3	4	—1
1770-79 64	19	7	5	11	—4	5	1	1	1	0	6	3	2	7	—4
1780-89 63	23	15	15	8	7	5	5	5	2	3	8	5	5	1	4
1790-99 95	30	15	15	11	4	8	4	4	4	0	8	6	6	2	4
1800-09 114	46	28	—	(19)	—	12	9	—	(4)	—	17	8	—	(8)	—
1810-19 137	48	20	—	(19)	—	14	8	—	(5)	—	15	5	—	(7)	—
1820-29 145	45	22	—	(30)	—	10	5	—	(11)	—	17	8	—	(9)	—
1830-39 221	77	33	—	(43)	—	23	10	—	(11)	—	23	9	—	(13)	—
1840-49 205	62	23	—	(49)	—	14	8	—	(17)	—	21	7	—	(16)	—
1850-59 215	70	24	—	(55)	—	30	9	—	(14)	—	24	9	—	(18)	—
1860-69 244	79	28	—	(95)	—	12	4	—	(24)	—	32	12	—	(37)	—
1870-79 237	73	23	—	(151)	—	13	3	—	(36)	—	23	8	—	(62)	—
1880-89 249	79	17	—	(173)	—	22	5	—	(38)	—	24	5	—	(54)	—
1890-99 200	76	14	—	(106)	—	25	4	—	(35)	—	29	5	—	(29)	—
1900-29 57	25	2	—	(52)	—	4	—	—	(13)	—	11	2	—	(17)	—

<sup>1</sup> Included are all encountered notions of sorts of persons and of actions and accomplishments as well as all other sociological ideas associated with substantives.

<sup>2</sup> Included are all encountered designations of sorts of persons and dieties acting like persons; excluded are all notions of personal characteristics.

<sup>3</sup> Included are all named behaviors, demeanors, actions, activities, and accomplishments of persons and groups.

<sup>4</sup> The period of time is indicated by earliest citation; included are single citations as well as notions expressed through multiple citations.

<sup>5</sup> Proposals of notions lasting over a period of time, as indicated by two or more citations.

<sup>6</sup> Acceptances lasting into the nineteenth century.

<sup>7</sup> Indicated by the latest recorded citation, if this citation occurs before 1800. Latest recorded citations found after 1800 are also included in the table in parentheses.

span of English history is marked by abrupt and profound changes in the discovery of names for ideas.

Ideas concerning persons and society are shown in Table 3 to share this characteristic of extreme historical alteration. These sociological ideas are classified under several headings indicating how they have appeared and disappeared in the historical records. *Proposals* (b) of ideas are all listed in Table 3 according to dates of earliest recovered usages; every sociological notion that was drawn into the sample is included in the list. For many ideas only one dated use is cited in the dictionary. Since it was the policy of the editors to record two or more dated uses when they could be found, meanings cited more than once are critically different from those indicated by only one citation. The more permanent meanings are called *acceptances* (c) using two or more

citations as the minimum definition of acceptance. Some meanings proposed in earlier centuries have been retained in modern usage. Classified as *survivals* (d) are all such ideas that persisted into the nineteenth century.<sup>10</sup> Terminating dates of usage occurring prior to 1800 are treated as indicators of *losses* (e) of ideas from the records of history. Finally, the *natural increase* (f) of ideas can be measured by noting for successive periods the excess of acceptances over losses. All of these types of occurrences are included in Table 3 for several sorts of so-

<sup>10</sup> The dictionary, which was begun in the latter part of the nineteenth century, contains in all cases the latest date of use of every meaning recovered by the editors. Many meanings still in use thus are connected with dates of latest discovered usage drawn from the middle of the nineteenth century. I have interpreted all terminal dates in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as indicators that the meanings they delimit are still possibly part of the language.

ciological notions. The natural increase of the different sorts of ideas about persons and society emphasizes even more than the record of proposals how distinctively creative were the early poetic ages in adding sociological representations to the language.

The great fluctuations in the attainment of new named ideas in English history form a sharp contrast with any stabilities and regularities in the temporal arrays of these ideas. Persistent stabilities could point to a continuing order of awareness penetrating the whole English language and making for, or at least expressing, a controlled growth of that language. If the rudiments of such a stable scheme of awareness can be discovered in such distributions of social notions as those described by Table 3, a natural sociology would thereby be delineated. Fortunately, the test of certain stabilities of frequencies contributing to the record of Table 3 can readily be undertaken in a series of Chi-square and variance analyses.

The following hypothesis was tested: successive periods from 1300 to 1899 do not differ in proportions of sociological ideas appearing among all encountered ideas. The Chi-square analysis for this test utilized information summarized in columns (a) and (b) in Table 3. As this was an important test, materials in successive decades, starting with the earliest, were systematically combined, when necessary, in order to attain for each cell an expected value greater than 35. This allowed the testing of 70 cells in a  $2 \times 35$  table.<sup>11</sup> Comparisons were thus made of 35 successive periods: nineteen separate decades falling largely in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, ten twenty-year periods found mainly in the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, four thirty-year periods, one forty-year period, and one fifty-year period from 1300 to 1349. Since the decades and twenty-year periods filled the last four

centuries, the results of this Chi-square test were determined principally by proportions characterizing these centuries. A ten per cent significance level for this and for all other Chi-square tests was established before the analysis was attempted.

Among the 5,802 ideas appearing between 1300 and 1899, 1,967 or 33.9 per cent are sociological notions indicated by substantives. This percentage set the null hypothesis. In the test of this hypothesis a Chi-square of 34.34 was obtained, considerably lower than Chi-square at the ten per cent significance level for 34 degrees of freedom. The results do not support a rejection of the null hypothesis. In spite of the erratic appearance of named ideas, the proportions of these ideas that are sociological notions signified by substantives likely have remained quite steady for 600 years. This is a good sign of a stable sociology natural to the English language.

For particular sorts of sociological notions proposed in successive periods during the 600 inspected years, similar percentage stabilities were indicated by similar Chi-square tests. (See Table 5 for information on the length of periods compared in these tests.) The results, given in Table 4, include no instance of an obtained Chi-square exceeding Chi-square at the ten per cent significance level, and thus no instance where a null hypothesis could be safely rejected. It is quite likely that from 1300 to 1899 the proportion (about 27.5 per cent) of all sociological ideas that designate sorts of persons remained fairly constant, and that other constant proportions held for designations of sorts of actions and accomplishments, collectivities, and social times and places. As Table 4 shows, whether the proportions were tested singly in  $R \times 2$  tables, so as to take advantage of the great amount of information on persons and actions, or conjointly in a  $5 \times 9$  table, the largest table that would allow expected values in excess of ten for every cell, no reasons can fairly be drawn from these analyses for questioning the likely stabilities of these proportions maintained over 600 years. Not only has there been a general sociology for centuries as a stable portion of English awareness, but the proportions of its principal parts have remained about the same.

<sup>11</sup> A  $2 \times 35$  table—rather than a  $1 \times 35$  table—is appropriate since counts on two categories of ideas were collected: (1) sociological notions indicated by substantives; and (2) all other notions encountered in the successive time periods. The null hypothesis being derived from marginal values in this table, the appropriate degrees of freedom are 34. In other Chi-square analyses, decades were also systematically combined—starting in all cases with the earliest periods—in order to obtain expected values in excess of 10 in every cell.



TABLE 4. TESTS OF STABLE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SORTS OF NOTIONS EXPRESSED THROUGH THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE, 1300-1899<sup>1</sup>

Sorts of Sociological Notions	Proportions Compared		Number of Particular Designations	Average Proportion	Number of Successive Periods Compared	$\chi^2$	P
	Out of						
Total (undifferentiated)	All Encountered Ideas		1967	33.90%	35	34.34	>.10
1) Designations of persons	All Sociological Ideas		541	27.50	33	37.13	>.10
2) Designations of Actions			661	33.60	39	34.53	>.10
3) Designations of Collectivities			102	5.19	9	11.63	>.10
4) Designations of Social Times and Places			127	6.46	11	14.56	>.10
5) All Other Sociological Ideas			536	27.25	—	—	—
The Above Five Categories <sup>2</sup>			1967	—	9	36.51	>.10

<sup>1</sup> Indicated by substantives.<sup>2</sup> Compared in a 5 x 9 table.

## RATES OF ACCEPTANCE AND SURVIVAL

Still other constant relationships can be found in the historical distributions of named ideas. Table 3 is arranged to allow for comparisons between three sorts of sociological ideas— notions of sorts of persons, of actions and accomplishments, and of other sociological topics. The table shows that for

all three the surviving records of earlier centuries disclose much higher proportions of acceptances of ideas proposed in those times than do the records of the later centuries. And, conversely, the records of later periods exhibit greater proportions of survivals of accepted ideas than do the earlier records for all three sorts of sociological understandings.

TABLE 5. THE LENGTH OF PERIODS COMPARED IN THE SEVERAL CHI-SQUARE TESTS OF STABLE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SORTS OF IDEAS<sup>1</sup>

Sociological Categories Involved in Chi-square Comparisons	Number of Periods Compared	Number of Periods of Various Lengths (years)						
		10	20	30	40	50	60	70 or more
All Sociological Notions	35	19	10	4	1	1	—	—
Designations of persons	33	18	9	2	2	2	—	—
Designations of Actions	39	26	8	4	—	—	1	—
Designations of Collectivities	9	—	—	2	3	—	1	3
Designations of Social Times and Places	11	—	1	5	—	2	1	2
The Above Four and a Miscellaneous Category	9	—	—	2	3	—	1	3

<sup>1</sup> Starting with the earliest decades, successive decades were systematically combined in order to obtain expected values in each cell exceeding 35 in the comparison testing "all sociological notions" and exceeding ten in all other comparisons.

TABLE 6. PERCENTAGES OF ACCEPTED SOCIOLOGICAL NOTIONS PROPOSED IN SUCCESSIVE TIME PERIODS AND PERCENTAGES OF THESE ACCEPTED NOTIONS SURVIVING INTO THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Period	Coded X	Percentages Accepted		Acceptances	Percentages Surviving		Survivals
		Notions of Persons $Y_1$	Notions of Actions $Y_2$	Proposals All Other Sociological Notions $Y_3$	Notions of Persons $Y_4$	Notions of Actions $Y_5$	Acceptances All Other Sociological Notions $Y_6$
1320-1399	1	91.67	81.25	80.39	54.55	53.85	60.98
1400-1479	2	76.47	77.78	77.42	61.54	60.71	37.50
1480-1559	3	66.27	74.55	75.36	52.94	36.59	55.77
1560-1639	4	59.47	67.83	62.60	55.55	47.44	75.00
1640-1719	5	49.71	55.28	49.23	77.50	79.51	73.44
1720-1799	6	52.53	50.79	50.62	87.10	96.87	92.68

	Average	Persons	Actions	Other
Acceptances				
Regressions on X:	91.92 — 7.20X	94.17 — 8.08X	88.54 — 6.47X	91.83 — 6.87X
Correlations with X:	—.955	—.952	—.974	—.951
Survivals				
Regressions on X:	38.79 + 7.32X	43.09 + 6.09X	36.21 + 8.06X	35.85 + 8.16X
Correlations with X:	.745	.806	.682	.807

Analyses	Sources of Variation	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F
Acceptances	Total:	17	2999.58		
I. Analysis of Variance between Sorts of Notions	Between sorts:	2	15.00	7.50	.04 < $F_{.05}$
	Within sorts:	15	2984.58	198.96	
II. Analysis of Error Variance with Regression	Reduction due to regression:	1	2717.86	2717.86	142.67 > $F_{.01}$
	Error for regression adjustments:	14	266.72	19.05	
III. Analysis of Errors of Estimate from Average Regression	Differences among individual regressions:	2	18.73	9.37	.45 < $F_{.05}$
	Deviations from individual regressions:	12	247.99	20.67	
Survivals	Total:	17	5270.93		
I. Analysis of Variance between Sorts of Notions	Between sorts:	2	36.85	18.42	.05 < $F_{.05}$
	Within sorts:	15	5234.08	348.94	
II. Analysis of Error Variance with Regression	Reduction due to regression:	1	2903.39	2903.39	17.44 > $F_{.01}$
	Error for regression adjustments:	14	2330.69	166.48	
III. Analysis of Errors of Estimate from Average Regression	Differences among individual regressions:	2	47.49	23.74	.12 < $F_{.05}$
	Deviations from individual regressions:	12	2283.20	190.27	

TABLE 6.—*Continued*

		CONCLUSIONS
Test I:	No significant differences between the several sorts of sociological notions are indicated for either acceptances or survivals.	
Test II:	For both acceptances and survivals the reduction in the sum of squares due to regression is highly significant.	
Test III:	No significant differences appear among the individual regressions for either acceptances or survivals. In both cases average regressions are the best available estimates of population regressions.	

Rates of acceptance—of repeated citations of proposals—and rates of survival—of the persistence of acceptances into the nineteenth century—can be computed for the three sorts of ideas.

Through the analysis of variance and error variance through time, it is then possible to test whether rates of acceptance and of survival of notions about sorts of persons resemble such rates for notions about sorts of actions and accomplishments and about other sociological subjects. The summary presented in Table 6 indicates how well the rates of acceptance of the three sorts of sociological notions fit together as they decline in successive periods of time, and how well three corresponding rates of survival fit together as they increase in time. If a close correspondence can be found between the three sorts of ideas in either of these comparisons of changing rates, then a further stable relationship will have been discovered.

Rates of acceptance and of survival of the several sorts of sociological notions are recorded in Table 6 for six successive eighty-year periods between 1320 and 1799. The investigated span of time ends in 1799 because only survivals of ideas extending into the nineteenth century are dealt with in this study, forcing a termination in 1799 of the survival rate. The acceptance rate, accordingly, was computed for the same period of time set by this survival limit. Even with eighty-year periods two of the percentages of survivals (*notions of persons* from 1480 to 1559, and *other sociological notions* from 1400 to 1479) represent counts of only nine ideas. On the other hand, three-fourths of the percentages in the eighty-year periods represent counts of 25 ideas or more. Intervals of 80 years appear to be the smallest that can be compared safely.

For the three sorts of sociological notions, Table 6 discloses drastic decreases in the

rates of acceptance and equally drastic increases in rates of survival in the successive historical periods. Individual regressions through time were computed for these two sets of changing rates. It will be noted in Table 6 how closely the individual regressions fit in each set. In addition to unexplained deviations of actual rates of acceptance or of survival from computed individual regressions, three kinds of variance can be identified in both sets of comparisons of the several sorts of notions: (1) the general variance between sorts of notions (see Test I in Table 6); (2) variance associated with regression in time (see Test II); and (3) differences among individual regressions for particular sorts of notions (see Test III). In both sets of comparisons only one source of variance proved to be significant beyond the one per cent confidence level: regression in time, showing a general negative regression of rates of acceptance and a general positive regression of rates of survival. The analysis of error variance in Test II displays the great amount of variance associated with general regression in both comparisons. Test III strongly suggests that the individual regressions of rates of acceptance for the different sorts of ideas correspond so closely that they could easily describe characteristics of random samples drawn from identical populations. The same close correspondence holds between the individual regressions of rates of survival. Therefore, the best available estimates of population characteristics of either acceptance rates or survival rates are average regressions. The average regression in time of the rate of acceptance is  $91.92 - 7.20X$ , where  $X$  represents a coded eighty-year period. The corresponding rate of survival is  $38.79 + 7.32X$ . Given these two statements on average regression, the individual regressions for either acceptances or survivals can be ignored.

The tests of Table 6 demonstrate noteworthy correspondences between sorts of sociological notions in their rates of acceptance and of survival in English history. Here again is evidence of a pervasive regularity in the English order of sociological awareness arising out of patterns and fortunes in the use of conventional meanings of words.

#### SUMMARY

Taking into consideration all parts of speech, it is likely that most of the meanings intended by all ordinary vocabularies have to do with persons and collectivities and with their actions, accomplishments, characteristics, characterizations, and humanly delineated circumstances. These are the kinds of sociological understandings that are manifest to people themselves involved in society. Whether or not a collection of such understandings can be regarded as a natural sociology is the directing question of this study.

Any collection of ideas, including popularized professional concepts, can be called natural if it is free of deliberate professional control. To speak of a collection of notions about persons and society as a natural sociology requires the discovery of some form or shape suggesting an orderly sociological outlook. Just such a scheme of sociological awareness appears in the present search through English semantic materials for historically stable relationships and features pertaining to whole categories of named ideas.

The English semantic record shows marked differences between historical periods in the development of new named ideas. Ideas about persons and society do not differ from the general semantic record in displays of abrupt changes in their appearances and disappearances in history. And there have also been impressive changes in the acceptance of proposed sociological ideas and in the survival of these acceptances. Notwithstanding such changes, certain stabilities are apparent:

1. The proportion of the whole sampled record of English semantic innovations given over to sociological representations indicated by substantives remained virtually constant throughout the 600 years studied. Substantive collective representations of man and

society have for centuries made up about one-third of the great store of articulated understandings contributed to the English language. Although the record of historical occurrences of ideas that might be classified as non-sociological was not separated for direct examination, this study does not suggest such ideas have followed any pattern except that of a steadily maintained portion of the English semantic record. If any such process as cultural lag pertains to English history, it apparently has not affected the constant proportions of English usage devoted to sociological representations throughout six centuries of discourse.

2. The conspicuous parts of this array of natural concepts also have been proposed in virtually constant proportions. Since before Chaucer's time about one-fourth of the substantive collective representations proposed for dealing with man and society with regularity have designated sorts of persons. About one-third of these representations with equal regularity have designated sorts of actions and accomplishments. And sorts of collectivities and social times and places have each been represented in smaller, but nonetheless stable, proportions throughout the six centuries. The proportional regularity in the historical development of these conspicuous parts is taken here as evidence of durability of an ordered scheme of sociological comprehension. Quite likely this scheme is itself but a part of a more pervasive semantic order in the English language.

3. Different sorts of sociological notions are so much alike in their records of changes in rates of acceptance and of survival that still other general stable relationships must be examined as the best available sources of interpretation of what has happened to proposed ideas about persons and society during English history. These general relationships describing changes in the acceptance and survival of ideas, not only supply further evidence of an established sociological scheme, but may reflect a more comprehensive figure of set semantic relationships giving structure to English.

In every attempted test probable stabilities were encountered. These are durable traces of some coordinate system of response to society, integrated, one would expect, into a wider semantic order of the whole English



language. It seems proper to speak of a natural sociology.

#### DISCUSSION

Without success the attempt was made to fit the 600 prototypes of professional sociological understandings to the historical arrays in Table 3. The 600 ideas linked to professional terms are on the whole so ancient that the goodness-of-fit tests show no indication of correspondence with the historical profiles of the natural sociology treated here. Since it would be difficult to distinguish a good number of the prototypes from modern professional concepts, the impression is gained that many of the semantic instruments of the present-day profession of sociology are old fashioned. This may be a fortunate situation: medieval ideas, when used in the assessment of modern situations, may carry with them the overtones of expected contrast that lead to penetrating insights. Moreover, many of the basic terms and elementary ideas of any discipline must be old, if the discipline has concentrated on problems and subject-matter marked by some degree of permanence. Possibly all professions become committed in time to orders of ideas that are older than the natural semantic developments with which they have become historically involved: the sciences, for instance, because they are committed to subject-matter, may not replace ideas as rapidly as does slang.

Fair success was achieved with some predictions. The average regression for the rate of acceptance of all sociological notions was based on information recorded between 1320 and 1799. By extension of this regression into the nineteenth century I was able to compare a predicted percentage of acceptances between 1800 and 1879 with a percentage based on actual counts for that period as recorded in columns (b) and (c) in Table 3. Projection of the regression,  $91.92 - 7.20X$ , with  $X$  coded as 7 for the seventh eighty-year period, yielded a prediction of 41.52 per cent as the expected proportion of acceptances; the actual percentage was 40.20 per cent. The fact that the predicted count exceeds the actual count of 201 by less than seven acceptances indicates a startlingly good fit, considering that the data are historical.

A similar projection for the period from

1240 to 1319 yielded somewhat less good results: the predicted percentage for acceptances is 91.52, the actual count percentage, 85.91. The actual count is just three short of the predicted count. For the same period a predicted percentage of 38.79 for survivals is a bit more than four per cent below the actual count percentage of 42.85. Again, the predicted count is only two less than the actual count of 21 recorded survivals of ideas from the thirteenth into the nineteenth century.

It may be the case, of course, that the results secured in this study pertain only to limited and specific period, place, language, history, people, records, editorial practices, and sampling techniques. But these results, I believe, can be used in research through their extension to unexamined semantic systems. Thus, in considering questions about populations of notions as yet unsampled I suggest two propositions:

1. *The classifications by general topic of notions that can be identified as the meanings of words in any language will appear in constant proportions throughout the whole history of that language, regardless of linguistic changes of any sort or changes in the civilization with which the meanings are associated.* Cultural and linguistic changes may affect the size of a total semantic system or the freedom of its expression, but will not affect permanently the proportions and arrangements of its parts. Referring to all parts of speech—not merely to substantives, as in this study—I should rather expect that the proportion of notions constituting a natural sociology will always exceed two-thirds of all ideas articulated by the words of any language. Probably the natural sociology of any language, moreover, will be given over largely to the delineation and characterization of sorts of persons and their states, actions, and accomplishments. This is to say that all natural sociologies are person-centered, not group- or society-centered—all semantic systems are engrossed in the doings of human beings more than in any other subject.

2. *In every semantic order found in any language, the rate of acceptance of proposals of all new ideas will vary inversely, and the rate of survival of all acceptances will vary directly, with the passage of time to any*

*point in history.* New ideas, although perhaps not as easily proposed in earlier periods, are more readily assimilated into a body of working notions in earlier phases of semantic operations than in later phases; and recent ideas, once accepted, have a better chance of persistence than old ideas.

These tentative and general arguments should be replaced, of course, with more insightful propositions, particularly those that can better clarify the relation between human awareness and language and between encountered experience and awareness expressed through language, where awareness consists of knowledge acquired by great populations. The present analysis of English materials suggests a stable order of notions maintained for centuries in spite of great

cultural and linguistic changes. Thus doubts are raised as to the influence of language and experience on the basic structure of general human understanding. Until the historical developments of meanings are better understood, I would argue that the whole natural order of awareness, as developed through such stable organizations as natural sociologies, remains, for great populations, independent of linguistic or immediate experiential influence. Collective representations have their own reality and systems of reality.

This Durkheimian outlook, as I see it, is a straight-forward idealism—an impersonal, objective, naturalistic, and realistic idealism—that reasserts the importance of the study of collective representations as social facts.

## PUBLIC OPINION AND THE PRIMARY GROUP\*

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*Interaction in primary groups performs an essential function in the formation of public opinion. Research on small groups shows their significance for the generation and maintenance of opinions. Panel studies of elections show the importance of personal influence in opinion change. Opinion leadership in the community can be distinguished from opinion initiation in primary relations. In a public, as distinct from a mass, there is a disjunction between personal interests and group expectations. Types of adaptation to these two determinants of public opinion are pro, con, ambivalent, undecided, and uninformed. The typical history of a public passes through stages characterized by mass behavior, public controversy between organized factions, and institutionalized decision-making. In each stage primary groups perform generative and relay functions within larger structures. The consequence of continued interaction is sharpening, crystallizing, and polarizing of opinions. Persons who are ambivalent, undecided, and uninformed change in the direction of conformance to primary group expectations. Interests are redefined to accord with expectations.*

A NECESSARY process in the formation of public opinion is communication in primary relationships. This proposition is the point of departure for the present paper. Established theories of public opinion have stressed interaction in secondary relationships and through mass media. They delineate the operation of interest groups, masses, publics, and similar large groups and collectivities in the formation of public opinion. During the 1950s several sociologists cited the omission of small groups, formulated

hypotheses on their function in mass communication, urged the development of appropriate conceptual models, and called for research specifically designed to test these propositions.

This paper examines specific problems within this general field, reviews pertinent work of others, formulates a conceptual model, presents hypotheses and a design for their proof. It is a preliminary report of study in connection with current field research in opinion formation on problems of flood control and water conservation. The hypotheses are being tested by a panel type, sample survey of a rural population

\* A revision and expansion of a paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, August, 1958.

confronted with alternative proposals for controlling streamflow.

Early in 1958 the Army Corps of Engineers announced plans for a dam at Clinton, Kansas, across the Wakarusa river, a tributary of the Kansas river. Within a few weeks a group of farmers had organized the Wakarusa Watershed Association with the objective of establishing a watershed district having legal authority to construct a series of 90 to 100 small dams. If successful, this project might obviate the need for the large dam proposal by the Army Engineers. Since the watershed of the Wakarusa river lay within a three-county area adjacent to the University of Kansas we were fortunately situated to observe the public controversy over these alternative proposals for water conservation and flood control.

We drew an area probability sample of 140 rural residents and interviewed them during the summers of 1958 and 1959. The interview schedule is designed to identify those who change their opinions between successive interview waves, to indicate their interests in the issue, to reveal the channels of communication through which opinions on this question have reached them, and to compare and relate primary, secondary, and mass influences. We are also interviewing the leaders of both factions of the public and the 60 petition carriers who were cast in the role of opinion leaders by the watershed association.

Although the conceptual model is based on data from our study of movements for flood control and water conservation,<sup>1</sup> it is presented in a general form and attempts to incorporate the significant elements and variables in the public opinion process so that it can be applied to any community or society confronted with an issue in which the populace participates in the legitimate, decision-making process.

The principal divisions of this paper treat the following matters: (1) the theory of public opinion developed by the Chicago group that provides the foundation for our projected research; (2) the discontinuity between public opinion theory and research

techniques; (3) recent research on social factors in opinion change; (4) a distinction between leaders and initiators; (5) current views on the functions of primary groups in mass communication and public opinion; (6) personal interests and group expectations as determinants of opinion; and (7) stages in the development of structure, interaction, and symbolization in the life cycle of a public.

#### MACROSOCIOLOGIC THEORY OF PUBLIC OPINION

The function of the public opinion process for the society is the peaceful resolution of conflicts between factions within a changing secular society. According to the theory advanced by Park<sup>2</sup> and developed by his students, notably Herbert Blumer<sup>3</sup> and Carroll D. Clark,<sup>4</sup> public opinion is the collective product of interaction within a public. It is the composite of opinions of the members of a public as these are communicated to leaders empowered to render a decision.

Structurally, the public is a large group divided into factions by an issue. The members disagree over proposals for action that they believe will have a differential effect on their interests. The public is thought of as having a center and a perimeter, with the participants differing in the intensity of their concern and interaction from the center to the perimeter. Partisan interest groups form the nucleus of the public and around them are uncommitted groups and persons concerned over the issue but not publicly aligned with one side or the other.

Certain cultural conditions are necessary for the emergence of a public. The members must possess a common language, share some basic values, and accept established institutionalized means for legitimate collective action. Publics are not fully developed in all

<sup>2</sup> Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1924, pp. 791-796, 829-833.

<sup>3</sup> "Collective Behavior," in Alfred M. Lee, editor, *Principles of Sociology*, New York: Barnes and Noble, 1946, pp. 189-193.

<sup>4</sup> "The Concept of the Public," *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, 13 (March, 1933), pp. 311-320; and "Social and Cultural Factors in Public Opinion," in Norman C. Meier and Harold W. Saunders, editors, *The Polls and Public Opinion*, New York: Holt, 1949, pp. 115-123.

<sup>1</sup> Charles K. Warriner with the collaboration of E. Jackson Baur, "Water Problems and Social Processes," Lawrence, Kansas: Department of Sociology and Anthropology, 1957, (processed).

societies, however, but are characteristic of the pluralistic or associational and urban type, as distinct from folk and urbanized, authoritarian societies. Among the salient, differentiating norms are tolerance of dissenting views; the civil liberties of free belief, speech, press, assembly, and association; and such human rights as habeas corpus, security of person, papers, and effects, protection against self-incrimination, and due process of law.

The public has a typical history. It is preceded by a "mass" in which many separate individuals become concerned about a social problem. They assimilate new ideas from mass media or personal communication, but a public does not emerge until some organized group proposes a solution to the problem designed to maximize the interests of its members. The public is not fully formed until those who believe they will be adversely affected mobilize and take issue with the initial proposal. The diverse interest groups within each faction are unified by alliances, *ad hoc* committees, or new integrating associations. As organizational problems within the interest groups attain solution, more attention is given to the uncommitted outsiders whose support is needed to achieve dominance in the controversy, they are subjected to persuasion by means of propaganda and personal influence. Public opinion takes form in the process of discussion and controversy.

The last phase is reached when legitimate institutions are invoked to take decisive action. Institutionalized means of decision-making include election, legislation, or litigation. An authoritative decision is made by persons in positions of responsibility who assess the views that make up public opinion along with other relevant information and announce a decision or action that is intended to close the issue.<sup>5</sup>

This conception follows Blumer's distinction between public, crowd, and mass.<sup>6</sup> The crowd is a compact collectivity while mass and public are dispersed; the emergence and

unity of a crowd depend on direct, face-to-face communication. A mass or public, however, is typically united by indirect communication through mass media between persons and small groups.<sup>7</sup> Compact groups of larger size such as rallies, are common in masses and publics, but they are not an essential feature.

The crucial difference between the mass and the public is the similarity of opinion or action in a mass and the clash of contradictory opinions in a public. The members of a public are divided by their opposing views on a controversial question. The members of a mass agree among themselves and although they may disagree with others, the criticism by outsiders is discounted because they are believed incapable of understanding or appreciating the beliefs and actions of insiders. The conception of the public as internally divided into factions is essential for the theory advanced in this paper. For it is the stress of ambivalence produced by this division, it is hypothesized, that induces persons to seek clarification through communication in primary relationships.

#### THE LAG BETWEEN RESEARCH TECHNIQUES AND SUBSTANTIVE THEORY

The lag between the invention of research techniques and the development of public opinion theory was pointed out by Clyde Hart when he observed that "There was little or no evidence of any marked growth in our understanding of the processes of opinion and attitude formation . . ." from the early 1920s to the late 1940s.<sup>8</sup> More recently Blumer remarked on the " . . . limited degree to which current literature on

<sup>5</sup> It should be noted that Ralph H. Turner and Lewis M. Killian (*Collective Behavior*, Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1957) have introduced a new type of group intermediate between crowd and mass, the "diffuse crowd," characterized by knots of people united by rumors (p. 194). They apply the term mass to an ideal type construct of "a number of separate individuals each responding independently to the same stimulus in the same way. . . . it is less than a collectivity since it lacks interaction tying the entire group together." (p. 167) We prefer to use the concept of mass with an empirical referent to a sub-type of collectivity, and to consider the possibility that interaction in small groups is an essential feature of masses.

<sup>8</sup> In Meier and Saunders, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26.

<sup>5</sup> Herbert Blumer, "Public Opinion and Public Opinion Polling," *American Sociological Review*, 13 (October, 1948), p. 545.

<sup>6</sup> "Collective Behavior," in Joseph B. Gittler, editor, *Review of Sociology*, New York: Wiley, 1957, p. 138.



public opinion adds to general knowledge of collective behavior. . . ."<sup>9</sup>

At the same time the refinement of sample survey methods immeasurably improved techniques for gathering and analyzing opinion data. The failure of these technical advances to stimulate theory has been a consequence of the static and nominalistic orientation implicit in most of our research methods. The usual cross-sectional design of surveys inevitably produces a static picture of public opinion, while theory emphasizes its temporal development.

The measurement of opinion has proceeded on the assumption that the populace is a mass in which sheer number is the significant variable, and has for the most part ignored the complexity of the public as a collectivity containing organizations, groups, factions, and strata each possessing different amounts of influence and power. Survey results almost invariably present public opinion as a cross-section of mass opinion, while public opinion theory implies that it "... consists of the pattern of the diverse views and positions on the issue that come to the individuals who have to act in response to the public opinion."<sup>10</sup>

The realist, in contrast with the nominalist, approach was made clear by Herbert Goldhamer's proposition that:

There is reason to believe that, as the individual becomes aware of the range and intensity of group preoccupation with the object, his orientation to it becomes less individualized, less intimately bound to an individual perception and judgment of the object. It would seem that he is drawn imperceptibly to view this object, anew, no longer now as an individual percipient, but as one who selects (unconsciously, perhaps) an "appropriate" position in an imagined range of public reactions. . . . One's own position becomes defined more sharply, more rigidly, and less uniquely in the transformation thus occasioned. . . .<sup>11</sup>

Recognition of the possible coercive force of the social fact of shared opinion suggests that significant determinants of public opinion

may be found in group participation and status.

#### RESEARCH ON THE DYNAMICS OF OPINION

Recent research on opinion change highlights the significance of group influences, especially those of a personal character and suggests additions to public opinion theory along the lines here proposed. Particularly illuminating is the work of two groups of investigators: those identified with the group dynamics approach initiated by Kurt Lewin, and those associated with Paul Lazarsfeld in research on opinion change by means of the panel technique.<sup>12</sup> The work of Lewin and his students, notably Leon Festinger, demonstrates that face-to-face group influences are crucial for understanding how and why people change their opinions; their research findings have been brought together in a set of formal propositions.<sup>13</sup> Lazarsfeld and his colleagues have also concluded, from their first study of a presidential election, that "... face-to-face contacts turned out to be the most important influences stimulating opinion change. . . ."<sup>14</sup>

Both of these groups of investigators found that opinions are unstable unless they are supported by the knowledge that others hold similar views. Festinger concluded that "subjective evaluations of opinions or of abilities are stable when comparison is available with others who are judged to be close to one's opinions or abilities."<sup>15</sup> The Elmira investigators found that:

... About one-fifth of our sample did not know the politics of any of their three closest friends

<sup>12</sup> A comprehensive review of pertinent research as well as a significant contribution to knowledge of the place of personal influence in mass behavior is presented in Elihu Katz and Paul F. Lazarsfeld, *Personal Influence*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955.

<sup>13</sup> Leon Festinger, "Informal Social Communication," *Psychological Review*, 57 (September, 1950), pp. 271-282.

<sup>14</sup> Paul F. Lazarsfeld, B. Berelson, and H. Gaudet, "Preface to the Second Edition," *The People's Choice*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1948, reprinted in Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Morris Rosenberg, editors, *The Language of Social Research*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955, p. 233.

<sup>15</sup> Leon Festinger, "A Theory of Social Comparison Processes," *Human Relations*, 7 (May, 1954), pp. 117-140, reprinted in A. Paul Hare, E. F. Borgatta, and F. Bales, *Small Groups*, New York: Knopf, 1955, p. 168.

<sup>9</sup> In Gittler, *op. cit.*, pp. 138-139.

<sup>10</sup> Blumer, "Public Opinion and Public Opinion Polling," *loc. cit.* (Italics are Blumer's.)

<sup>11</sup> "Public Opinion and Personality," *American Journal of Sociology*, 55 (January, 1950), pp. 346-347.

in August. Such people have so little political content in their normal social interaction that what little they do learn about politics is largely independent of their social surroundings most of the time. Therefore, they are more likely than their fellows to be "blown about" by the political winds of the times, in a way especially independent of their social surroundings. . . .<sup>16</sup>

The Lazarsfeld group also developed the concept of "opinion leadership" to explain the process by which new opinions derived from mass media gain currency in a community. The simplicity of their original conception of a two-step flow of communication from mass media to opinion leader to the rank and file was later questioned as a result of tracing the currents of personal influence. In the Elmira study they found that the persons identified as "leaders" in turn reported that they seek advice more than others.<sup>17</sup> But these investigators also recognized other opinion-making processes in a group:

Opinion leadership, however, is only one of the mechanisms through which the attitudes of a group are formed. Another is what has been called the "emergence" or "crystallization" of opinion. Social situations constantly demand actions or opinions. And the members of a group meet these demands, even when there is no particularly articulate individual on whom they can rely for advice. For, above and beyond opinion leadership are the mutual interactions of group members which reinforce the vague feelings of each individual. As these interactions take place, a new distribution of articulate opinions and attitudes is crystallized.<sup>18</sup>

These studies (among others) establish the importance of interpersonal communication in the process of opinion formation. But they leave unclear the precise nature of this personal communication and the connections between small group and large group processes of public opinion formation. Personal influence is not specifically defined or differentiated from face-to-face interaction, in-

formal association, and primary group relations. The adequacy of the concept of a two-step flow of communication for relating mass media and public opinion was questioned by its originators. They also pointed to the process of emergence, but left it undeveloped. One objective of the present research is to analyze this process and to distinguish it from opinion leadership.

#### OPINION LEADERS AND INITIATORS

We propose to clarify the conceptual apparatus for analyzing the emergence of public opinion by confining the term "opinion leader" to secondary relationships and by using "opinion initiator"<sup>19</sup> for primary interaction.

Opinion leadership can be inferred from the statements of several interviewees who said that they withheld judgment on the issue until they learned the stand taken by a prominent citizen. An influential member of the community, conscious of the probable effect of his remarks on others, withheld a public statement until he had ample time to consider the problem in private. These findings suggest the appropriateness of applying the term opinion leader to an individual having community-wide influence, whose sagacious reputation is acknowledged by persons having only secondary relationships or indirect interaction with him. We expect to find that his influence is similar to that of mass media in that individuals are selectively attentive to what they hear or read. The information received is given credence only if the recipient assumes the communicator shares his interests. Furthermore, if the information gives him a new perspective it will probably be mulled over in primary interaction before being accepted.

Opinion leaders seem to have wider social horizons than their followers. We have evidence that they read and travel more than

<sup>16</sup> Bernard R. Berelson, P. F. Lazarsfeld, and W. N. McPhee, *Voting: A Study of Opinion Formation in a Presidential Campaign*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954, p. 138.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 109.

<sup>18</sup> Lazarsfeld, Berelson, and Gaudet, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

<sup>19</sup> The concept of opinion initiator is an adaptation of the concept of "initiation (or origination) of action," first defined by Eliot D. Chapple (with C. N. Arensberg) in "Measuring Human Relations," *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, 22 (1940), No. 1, pp. 25-26, 52-68; applied by William F. Whyte in several publications, notably *Street Corner Society*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943, pp. 262-268; and refined by Charles K. Warriner in "Leadership in the Small Group," *American Journal of Sociology*, 60 (January, 1955), pp. 361-369.

their fellows and have more contacts outside the community. They appear to resemble the cosmopolitan rather than the local type of leader.<sup>20</sup>

In primary interaction the person who first expresses a new opinion, however tentatively, is an opinion initiator. We expect to find that a high proportion of opinion leaders are also opinion initiators, especially because the leader's frequent outside contacts are more likely to acquaint him with new ideas. We believe, however, that many who initiate opinions for others are not opinion leaders. We posit that the initiator perceives the possible impact of a public proposal on his own interests and expresses his insight to others similarly affected. Presumably he has considered its consequences and holds a tentative opinion, though still in an inchoate form, which can nevertheless be shared with others whose relationships to him are characterized by intimacy and mutual confidence.<sup>21</sup>

A person who responds to the initiator is an "opinion reactor." He may confirm or criticize the initial statement. From the evidence of the election studies cited above, we expect the conversation of primary group members to increase the homogeneity and stability of their opinions. If they see their interests as similar, a collective opinion should emerge from their discussion that is more definite than their individual views. They will tend to conform to one of the alternative positions being communicated to them through mass media and secondary relationships. To the extent that they achieve consensus, their shared emerging opinion takes on a superindividual validity, expressed more confidently than heretofore. Each person may communicate his group-sanctioned opinion to others with whom he has primary relationships and like interests, or, with the greater confidence acquired from primary group support, to fellow-members of larger groups.

<sup>20</sup> Robert K. Merton, "Patterns of Influence: A Study of a Local Community," in Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Frank Stanton, editors, *Communications Research 1948-1949*, New York: Harper, 1949, p. 189.

<sup>21</sup> The process is probably similar to that involved in the emergence of a new sub-culture as described by Albert K. Cohen in *Delinquent Boys*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955, pp. 59-61.

#### CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE THEORY OF PRIMARY GROUPS IN THE PUBLIC OPINION PROCESS

Several sociologists have recently discussed the influence of primary groups in the public opinion process and others have reported research that has important implications for this problem. In 1954, J. B. Ford called attention to the need for research on communication and opinion formation in primary groups as the indivisible units of masses and publics.<sup>22</sup> In the same year, Ivan D. Steiner published the results of research supporting the hypothesis that opinions conform to those of others with whom persons have primary relationships. Each respondent was asked to compare his own opinion with one reflecting the imagined responses of his ten closest friends; the prediction was confirmed that persons who perceive their opinions on a controversial issue to be different from those of their friends show less variability than individuals who perceive their opinions to be similar to those of their friends.<sup>23</sup>

Elihu Katz, in two critiques of research on opinion leadership, stressed the significance of interpersonal communication in small, informal groups for understanding the dynamics of opinion; the more recent statement concluded that personal influence typically takes place *within* the primary group.<sup>24</sup> Earlier, Katz (with Lazarsfeld) had discussed the functions of primary groups as generators and maintainers of opinions and their relay and reinforcement (or counteraction) function in mass communication.<sup>25</sup> These discussions of opinion leadership, personal influence, informal relations, and small groups, however, do not distinguish between primary groups *per se* and related phenomena.

We adhere to Cooley's usage by limiting the term primary group to one "characterized by intimate face-to-face association and cooperation. . . . it involves the sort of sympathy and mutual identification for which

<sup>22</sup> J. B. Ford, "Primary Group in Mass Communication," *Sociology and Social Research*, 38 (January, 1954), pp. 152-158.

<sup>23</sup> Ivan D. Steiner, "Primary Group Influences on Public Opinion," *American Sociological Review*, 19 (June, 1954), pp. 260-267.

<sup>24</sup> Elihu Katz, "The Two-Step Flow Communication: An Up-To-Date Report on an Hypothesis," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 21 (Spring, 1957), p. 77.

<sup>25</sup> Katz and Lazarsfeld, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-45.

'we' is the natural expression. . . . However, it is always a differentiated and usually a competitive unity, admitting of self-assertion. . . . But these passions are socialized by sympathy, and come, or tend to come, under the discipline of a common spirit. . . ."<sup>26</sup> Not any kind of face-to-face association is primary, as Faris convincingly demonstrated years ago, but only those which involve intimacy, sympathy, and mutual identification.<sup>27</sup> But the term personal influence, as used by Lazarsfeld and his colleagues, while stressing its face-to-face character, encompasses interaction in secondary as well as primary relationships.

Henry W. Riecken has approached the problem somewhat differently by stressing the reinforcement function of primary groups in elections; he has also considered the circumstances under which opinions may change. He identified two such circumstances: a break in primary group attachments which lowers resistance to assaults on convictions; and changes in the social or economic environment of a group that affect its welfare or purpose and thus become a matter for concern.<sup>28</sup>

The Rileys, to cite a final contribution, have sketched the major elements of a model of mass communication within a social system. They see mass communicators and recipients interacting in terms of values shaped by their separate primary groups within larger social structures.<sup>29</sup> They raise a number of questions for research based on variations in the recipient's relations with his primary groups, including his positive and negative attitudes toward the groups, his group statuses and roles, and the complications that arise when he simultaneously belongs to two or more primary groups.<sup>30</sup> Al-

though the Rileys stress the salience of primary groups in determining the recipient's reactions, they recognize the probability of large group influences as well, and ask: "under what conditions does the primary group appear to be the more effective of the two in guiding his response?"<sup>31</sup>

#### DETERMINANTS OF PUBLIC OPINION

Both Riecken and the Rileys raise the question of how other determinants of opinion are related to primary group influences. They avoid the hazard pointed out by Edward Shils: "The increasingly high importance which sociologists and administrators are now according to the primary group must not, of course, blind sociologists to the significance of extra-primary group determinants of behavior within the primary groups themselves and beyond their boundaries."<sup>32</sup> Among these other determinants are what have long been referred to as "interests" in the macrosociologic theory of public opinion.

In our use of the term an object of interest is more than simply "interesting" to the person. He is more than attentive to it. He is concerned about it, having a present or potential investment in it of an economic or psychological character. We have talked to owners of farms in river flood plains who have an interest in the flood control controversy because they are concerned over the possible inundation of their land by the construction of large dams, viewing the watershed movement as a means of obviating the need for huge reservoirs. Once the site of a proposed dam has been fixed, however, flood plains farmers downstream from the site may covertly favor the big dam and oppose the watershed improvement plan on the ground that it will raise property taxes. Sentiment may govern personal interests as much as material gains and losses. Possible destruction of a homestead and the reorganization of one's way of life appear to be sources of resistance as strong as fear of financial loss.

An interest varies from person to person

<sup>26</sup> Charles Horton Cooley, *Social Organization*, New York: Scribner's, 1920, p. 23.

<sup>27</sup> Ellsworth Faris, "The Primary Group: Essence and Accident," *American Journal of Sociology*, 38 (July, 1932), p. 45.

<sup>28</sup> "Primary Groups and Political Party Choice," in Eugene Burdick and Arthur J. Brodbeck, editors, *American Voting Behavior*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1959, Chapter 8, esp. pp. 176, 182.

<sup>29</sup> John W. Riley, Jr., and Matilda W. Riley, "Mass Communication and the Social System," in Robert K. Merton, Leonard Broom, and Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., editors, *Sociology Today*, New York: Basic Books, 1959, Chapter 24.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 553-554.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 562.

<sup>32</sup> Edward A. Shils, "The Study of the Primary Group," in Daniel Lerner and Harold D. Lasswell, editors, *The Policy Sciences*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1951, p. 68.



in intensity and direction. Individuals exhibit degrees of concern and indifference in specific proposals, as well as seeing their advantages and disadvantages. Furthermore, members of the community recognize that others are differently affected by proposals and have legitimate reasons for taking divergent stands.

Interests arise in unstable social situations when individuals anticipate changes which they believe will have differential effects on their status.<sup>33</sup> In such a situation a public tends to emerge if many persons also believe that they can influence the anticipated changes.<sup>34</sup> If this possibility of popular participation in the decision-making process is not envisioned by substantial numbers they remain a mass. The public, like other forms of collective behavior, is inherently unstable and may be thought of as an institution in process or as a mechanism for transforming socio-cultural systems. In the context of equilibrium theory, such collectivities are conceived as reactive mechanisms that function to establish a new equilibrium.

In a stable social system personal interests are not differentiated from primary group expectations because the two are congruent and therefore indistinguishable. But in a dynamic situation a person's opinion on a controversial issue may be affected by conflicting interests and expectations. Expectations are defined in the traditional culture and maintained by established groups and institutions; interests are defined in the ideologies of emerging collectivities and advocated by voluntary associations.

Types of orientations of persons within a public can be based on the relation between expectations and interests. In our oversimplified model of the public in which there is assumed to be only one issue, there are four such types. There are, first, the *pros*, whose expectations and interests are con-

gruent with the proposal; and second, the *cons*, with expectations and interests in conflict with the proposal. Next, are those who are *ambivalent* because the expectations of their established groups conflict with the proposal that they think would maximize their interests. Their interests may lead them to take an unpopular or minority position within their social circles. Others are ambivalent because some of their interests will be furthered by the proposal and others will be hindered. They may also have primary ties with some persons who favor the proposal and others who oppose it. A final type consists of the *uninformed* who do not understand the issue, don't know where their interests lie, and haven't talked about it with others—although members of the community, they are not part of the public.

Within the rural population of the watershed of the Wakarusa river, the *pros* favor establishing a legal district to construct a series of small dams because they believe it will materially benefit themselves and the welfare of the valley in general. Furthermore, they share this opinion with many of their relatives, friends, and neighbors. Conversely, the *cons* oppose a watershed improvement plan because they believe it will bring them few if any benefits and will cost them money in taxes. Among the *cons* are flood plain farmers in the lower valley who would be better protected from floods by the large dam of the Army Engineers, and upland farmers unaffected by floods who see no benefits that would justify the cost of the watershed program. Members of these two factions are personally acquainted with others who agree with them. We expect to find a variety of sub-types among the *ambivalent*, including persons whose interests lie with either the *pros* or *cons* but whose friends and relatives disagree with them. Others foresee a mixture of benefits and losses, such as improved water supply but a plague of city trespassers attracted to the lakes. Another category may include persons whose intimates are sharply divided on the issue.

These types of adaptation to a public issue are summarized in the following table in which + signifies a favorable response to the proposal, - signifies an unfavorable response, ± signifies a mixture of favorable and unfavorable responses, and 0 signifies

<sup>33</sup> The term "status" is used here in the sense defined by Znaniecki as the rights granted to the occupant of a role and is not restricted to position in a system of stratification. See Florian Znaniecki, *The Social Role of the Man of Knowledge*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1940, reprinted in Lewis A. Coser and Bernard Rosenberg, editors, *Sociological Theory*, New York: Macmillan, 1957, pp. 348-349.

<sup>34</sup> Turner and Killian, *op. cit.*, p. 219, specify that the members of a public expect "to affect the course of action of some group or individual."

TYPES OF INDIVIDUAL ADAPTATION TO A PUBLIC ISSUE

Types	Primary	
	Personal Interests	Group Expectations
1. Pro	+	+
2. Con	-	-
3. Ambivalent (subtype A)	+	-
4. Ambivalent (subtype B)	-	+
5. Ambivalent (subtype C)	±	±
6. Uninformed	0	0

insufficient information and communication to have an opinion.

On the basis of the research findings reported in the third section of this paper, we expect to find that ambivalent persons, subject to conflict between group pressures and personal interests, have unstable opinions and may say that they are undecided. We predict that their primary group anchorages will determine their opinion positions. If they can establish primary relationships with others who share the same interests they will tend to hold on to their minority views, but if their primary relations are all with persons having opposing interests they will redefine their own interests to conform with those of relevant primary groups. We anticipate that those who refuse to conform will adopt a deviant solution by withdrawing from the situation and refusing to discuss the subject, but this adjustment will be rare.

Real publics are usually far more complicated than is suggested by the above discussion. There are typically several interrelated issues toward which individuals feel different intensities and directions of group pressure and personal interest. The groups to which the individual belongs may have conflicting definitions of their values and interests in the issue; his opinion may be the net effect of many different influences.

The amount of primary group discussion of a public issue varies not only with its importance to the community, the urgency of reaching a decision, and the intensity of conflict between interest groups, but also, we predict, with the degree of ambiguity created by conflicts between group expectations and interests. Prior research on small groups leads to the expectation that among those who reach a pro or con position on the issue, primary interaction functioned to validate and reinforce their opinions. Once

this is accomplished discussion should tend to decline, but among those who are undecided and ambivalent primary interaction should increase until the stress is reduced by reconciling the differences between group pressures and personal interests. This latter hypothesis is consistent with the findings of research on adoption of technological innovations by farmers, which shows that "personal influence is more important for later adopters."<sup>35</sup>

#### STAGES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF A PUBLIC

The macrosociologic theory presented earlier divided the natural history of the public into three stages characterized by mass behavior, public controversy, and institutionalized decision-making. These stages may now be amplified.

In the preliminary mass stage, opinions take form in dispersed, primary groups within a society. They are scattered in social space both horizontally and vertically, though of course their frequency within strata varies with the differential impact on their social and ecological position. Thus in the present case farm owners are more concerned than tenants, and those whose land is subject to flooding are more concerned than those whose farms are in the upland.

Once an opinion emerges and gains collective sanction through primary interaction, it tends to be transmitted to larger groups such as family gatherings, work groups, and club meetings. Following the first stage, a crucial step is taken when a bearer of the new opinion transmits his views to an organized, secondary group which the communicator believes will share his interest in the controversial proposal. Unless such larger and more powerful groups adopt his views and seek public participation the process of public opinion formation is retarded.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Everett M. Rogers and George M. Beal, "The Importance of Personal Influence in the Adoption of Technological Changes," *Social Forces*, 36 (May, 1958), p. 335.

<sup>36</sup> If powerful groups, large or small, believe public participation will harm their interests they will often attempt to divert public interest by raising false issues and achieve a decision through informal channels. Cf. Floyd Hunter, *Community Power Structure*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953.

The second stage, then, is characterized by the involvement of large groups. Sooner or later, too, the communication process involves an acknowledged leader who is in position to become an opinion leader for his organization. In a large group, however, we do not expect the leader immediately to present a novel opinion to the membership at large, but first to sound out interested persons in whom he has confidence. They need not be members and he may engage in such primary interaction before broaching it to other leaders in the organization. The roles of initiator and reactor are re-enacted in this new primary group setting, and discussion results in further modification of opinion. If no appropriate organization exists an *ad hoc* organization may be formed by one or more opinion leaders and their primary group peers. When there is a meeting of minds among the leaders their point of view is presented to the members or potential members for their acceptance.

It can be assumed that leaders of associations do not intentionally risk internal dissension by presenting ideas for action that conflict with the interests of large numbers or powerful members of the group, although they may take appropriate steps to neutralize or eliminate such potential opposition. For example, at the meetings to instruct petition carriers for the watershed district the leaders repeatedly asserted that condemnation powers of the district should not be used to acquire land for reservoirs.

To facilitate the acceptance of a point of view by large numbers, it is usually expressed in simple, sharp form. Movies stressing the benefits of watershed treatment programs were shown at promotional meetings. In this second stage, group opinion achieves a clearly public character in that the organization has openly committed itself and cannot change its stand without some public explanation.

The third stage is reached when the opinion is transmitted to an official, such as a legislator, executive, or judge, who is responsible for action on the issue that has been raised. The official must make a decision guided in large part by the information communicated to him. He hears from organizations and interested persons, but before making a decision he discusses the problem with confidential advisors. The latter may

hold formal positions as consultants, assistants, or staff officers, while others lack legitimate status—cronies, "kitchen cabinet" members, wives, and mistresses have been opinion reactors for high level decision-makers. The political process at this third stage has often been explored, of course, by historians, political scientists, and sociologists.

In the case of elections, the action of the responsible official is routinized, involving mere tabulation, certification, and communication of the vote. The officials make their crucial decisions when the election procedures become law. The same kind of procedural determination of the public opinion process obtains in the flood control controversy. Kansas, as well as many other states, has enacted a watershed district law which defines the procedures for establishing a district with legal powers to construct a system of small dams. Congress has also passed laws which provide for federal aid in their construction. Through a petitioning process, analogous to an election, property owners in a river valley may express their preference for a system of small dams constructed and maintained by a locally controlled watershed district as against flood control by means of large dams constructed by the Army Corps of Engineers or the Bureau of Reclamation. Designated state and federal officials function primarily to approve the legality of the procedures that were decided by legislators at an earlier date.

The unique feature of this model of the history of public opinion formation is the essential role of primary group relationships at every stage in the process. Primary groups function in the development of opinion from small groups, through voluntary associations, to official institutions. The process is analogous to relays in a communication network: when opinions are transmitted from one person to another, the one who receives the message relays it to others with whom he has primary bonds before transmitting it to larger groups.

At the same time that these structural changes are taking place in the public, the amount of interaction and participation passes through a cycle—or so we anticipate. From a small number of participants the public grows until the third stage is reached

and an authoritative decision is made; thereafter it rapidly decreases in size. The total amount of interaction on the issue seems to be roughly correlated with the total number of participants.

The symbolic content of communication also changes. If Goldhamer is correct in his hypothesis, quoted above, each individual's 'position becomes defined more sharply, more rigidly, and less uniquely. . . .' In the light of symbolic interactionist theory it can be predicted that at the same time that the person's own views become clarified his comprehension of the opinions of those taking other positions in the controversy undergo the same process. To test this hypothesis our informants have been asked to state the advantages and disadvantages of both the watershed and large dam plans. The theoretical interpretation of this process assumes that opinions are formed and changed in face-to-face interaction and subsequent retrospection. Opinions may be acquired and grow imperceptibly through repeated primary interaction, but more rapid change may occur during discussion in which emotions are aroused. Faris has maintained, though his proposition cannot be tested by the present study, that dramatic changes in attitudes may be largely attributed to retrospection on past conversations in which the subject's own role and those of others are re-enacted and refashioned.<sup>37</sup> Changes of attitudes through role-taking readily occur during and following interaction in primary relationships characterized by mutual identification. Accordingly, we expect to find that persons who changed their opinions have engaged in more primary interaction on the issue than non-changers. This interaction need not be with persons holding different views, but may occur in discussions of the contrasting positions known, through the mass media and rumors, to be held by members of other interest groups.

As the factions in the public move toward a test of strength those who are undecided will be subjected, we believe, to increasing pressure to make up their minds. This pressure is especially strong when a vote must be taken or a petition signed, as in the case

of the movement to organize a watershed district.

When attention is shifted from changes in the opinions of individual participants to the pattern of opinions in the whole public, the effect of interaction is a tendency toward homogeneity and polarization. The Lazarsfeld group found in their studies of elections that "for particular sub-groups within the community, attitude change led to greater uniformity and homogeneity. . . . For the community as a whole, however, attitude change produced greater diversity and *polarization*. . . ." <sup>38</sup> This finding is consistent with the macrosociologic theory of the public as tending toward the dominance of two opposed factions and the decline of moderate and minority interest groups through the loss of members, amalgamation, or alliance with one of the dominant factions.

In keeping with this view, we predict that ambivalent persons will increasingly initiate conversations on the issue as the public moves toward a decision. They will not only be subject to external pressure to make up their minds, but internal stresses may motivate them to resolve the ambiguity of their position. We anticipate that such conversations will be initiated in primary rather than secondary relationships because of the permissive, supportive, and confidential character of the primary relationship.

#### SUMMARY

On the basis of the compelling evidence that primary groups are the generators and sustainers of opinions, a conceptual model is proposed of the dynamics of public opinion formation, together with hypotheses derived from this model.

A public originates when a plan for solving a social problem is perceived to have differential impact on personal interests and those affected believe that they can influence the outcome. Opinions emerge in primary interaction initiated by a person who senses the impact of the proposal and communicates his thinking to others.

The conceptual model envisages public opinion as developing through three stages of increasing social complexity: an early

<sup>37</sup> Ellsworth Faris, "The Retrospective Act," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 14 (October, 1940), pp. 82-88.

<sup>38</sup> Lazarsfeld, Berelson, and Gaudet, *op. cit.*, p. 234.



stage of mass communication, a middle stage in which voluntary associations become involved, and a final stage in which political institutions are activated. At each stage, however, opinions are relayed through primary groups in which the content is sharpened and clarified.

As the public develops, opposing factions develop around organizations that strive for

power to invoke decisive action. Their positions are increasingly publicized through mass media and secondary groups. Individual opinions tend to conform to these polar positions. As polarization grows, ambivalent members of the public experience growing external pressure and internal stress that impels them to seek clarification through communication in primary relationships.

## EGALITARIAN ATTITUDES OF WARSAW STUDENTS

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*From a study of social and political views of Warsaw students, the author presents a multivariate analysis of six items concerning the idea of economic equality. All items are found to be related to the student's self-interest as measured by the socio-professional standing of the student's family, the income of his family, and his own income expectations. In further elaboration, by introducing several test variables, the author analyzes the dynamics of attitude formation through time, the role of face-to-face contact, and the influence of socio-professional standing upon the consistency of ideological attitudes.*

**I**N May 1958 the Department of Sociology at the University of Warsaw surveyed political, social, and religious attitudes of students.<sup>1</sup> From the total population of about 25,000 students at all institutions of higher education in Warsaw, a random sample of 836 persons was drawn, and an anonymous questionnaire was distributed among them.<sup>2</sup> Completed questionnaires were re-

turned by 732 persons, that is 88 per cent of the original sample.<sup>3</sup> The questionnaire included about 140 questions, developed in earlier interviews. Almost all questions provided fixed alternative answers which had been pre-tested in a pilot study.

The questions asked fall into the following areas: demographic characteristics and socioeconomic origin; attitudes toward study and professional expectations; religious views and evaluation of the psychological and moral functions of religion; personal values and life goals; membership in primary groups, their perceived ideological homogeneity, and attendant satisfactions; political biography and previously held social and political views; and current social and political attitudes. The latter category includes: (a) the student's needs and motives for political activity; (b) his political authoritarianism and tolerance; (c) his reaction to and definition of the term "socialism;" (d) his attitudes towards the

<sup>1</sup> The survey was carried out by Zofia Jozefowicz, Anna Pawelczynska, and the author, all members of the Department's Section of General Sociology, headed by Professor Stanislaw Ossowski. Students in the Department conducted the interviews.

The author is especially indebted to Paul F. Lazarsfeld for his suggestions and advice in the preparation of the present paper. The author is also indebted to Herbert Menzel for his editorial help.

<sup>2</sup> The institutions are: University of Warsaw, Polytechnical School, Medical Academy, Academy of Arts, Academy of Music, School of Drama, School of Economic Planning and Statistics, School of Agriculture, Academy of Physical Education, and School of Foreign Service. In most instances, respondents from any one school or dormitory met together for the distribution and completion of the questionnaire. Anonymity was strongly stressed both in the introductory information and in the situational conditions where the questionnaire was completed.

<sup>3</sup> Comparing the sample as drawn with the respondents who actually completed the questionnaire shows that the older, more advanced students were a little underrepresented. Students living with families were also underrepresented in comparison with students living in dormitories.

question of free enterprise *versus* nationalized economy, economic equality, and the current political and economic situation in Poland.

The survey was sponsored by the Polish Ministry of Higher Education, which was interested mainly in its diagnostic and descriptive aspects; these have been stressed in previous publications.<sup>4</sup> Our main descriptive interest was to measure the degree of acceptance among Warsaw students of different aspects of socialist ideology and to look for relationships between this ideology, other ideological attitudes, and more personal opinions.<sup>5</sup>

#### STUDENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARD ECONOMIC EQUALITY

In this paper an attempt is made to analyze one group of items in a more *theoretical* way. From the broader area of the students' ideological attitudes we select a group of questions concerning the *idea of economic*

<sup>4</sup> Zofia Jozefowicz, Stefan Nowak and Anna Pawelczynska, "Studenti—Mity i rzeczywistosc" (Students—Myth and Reality), *Przegląd Kulturalny*, Warszawa, July, 1958; "Nie proste sprawy pokolenia bylych ZMP-owcow" (The Difficult Problems of Previous Members of the Youth Organization), *Nova Kultura*, Warszawa, August, 1958; "Religia i polityka" (Religion and Politics), *ibid.*, September, 1958; "Poglady spoleczne i dazenia zyciowe" (Views on Society and Life Aspirations), *ibid.*, September, 1958. The first and last of these papers were reprinted in English and French translations in *Polish Perspectives—Perspectives Polonaises*, Warsaw, 1958, Nos. 3-4 and 7-8. See also the excerpts in Anna Pawelczynska and Stefan Nowak, "Les Attitudes Ideologiques des Etudiants de Varsovie," *L'Esprit*, Paris, November, 1958.

<sup>5</sup> We found, for example, almost perfect statistical independence between the political and religious attitudes of students. Special pains were taken to ascertain attitudes toward socialist ideology in a meaningful way. On the basis of earlier open-ended interviews, the best indicator of the respondents' overall attitude toward socialism was their response to the question, "Would you like to see the world going toward some form of socialism?" In our final, structured, survey, 25% answered this question "definitely yes," 46% "rather yes," 18% "no opinion," 9% "rather no," and 2% "definitely no." But these responses were for us only indicators of an overall emotional reaction to the term "socialism." The perceived content of this term was then controlled by the other questions referred to above. It was found that the students understood the term "socialism" in many different ways.

equality, and we try to find some explanations of the distribution of answers to these items. The six relevant questions are reproduced below, together with the distribution of answers (all percentages are based on the total of 732 returned questionnaires).<sup>6</sup>

1. Do you consider the tendency to abolish the exploitation of some men by others to be important?

Very important	82 per cent
Rather important	11
Rather not so important	2
Absolutely not important	1
No opinion	2
No answer	2
	100

2. Do you agree with those who assert that a wide range of salaries and wages constitutes an indirect form of exploitation of some people by others?

Definitely yes	9 per cent
Rather yes	23
No opinion	12
Rather no	30
Definitely no	25
No answer	1
	100

3. In your opinion, should the professions and jobs requiring a higher education be paid as much or more than professions and jobs which do not require a higher education?

About the same	1 per cent
Somewhat higher	19
Much higher	64
Very much higher	15
No opinion	1
	100

4. Do you think that the existing range of salaries in Poland should be reduced just now?

Definitely yes	20 per cent
Rather yes	25
No opinion	11
Rather no	24
Definitely no	18
No answer	2
	100

<sup>6</sup> The location of "no opinion" at the midpoint of several of these scales is by no means a typographical mistake. In the majority of items, we found that those answering "no opinion" responded to other items in a manner midway between favorable and unfavorable answers to the given item. For example: "Would you like the world to proceed toward some form of socialism?" Percentage of students accepting free enterprise in heavy industry: Definitely yes, 2.9; Rather yes, 5.5; No opinion, 6; Rather no, 9.5; Definitely no, 21.4.

5. Do you consider right the postulate that all citizens' income should be roughly equal?

Yes, I consider it right and think that it ought to be implemented as soon as possible	9 per cent
Yes, I consider it right but think that it ought to be implemented slowly and cautiously	15
Yes, I consider it right but I think that its implementation ought to be postponed to a more distant future	24
No, I consider this postulate fundamentally wrong	49
No opinion	3
	100

6. In your opinion, what should be the upper limit of the monthly income of a working person in Poland?

2,000 zloty per month	1 per cent
3,000	14
4,000	13
5,000	26
8,000	12
10,000	14
15,000	5
20,000	1
25,000	1
There should be no upper limit	9
No answer	4
	100

The arithmetical mean of these proposals concerning workers' incomes (excluding the 9 per cent who said there should be no upper limit) is 6,847 zloty per month.<sup>7</sup>

From the preceding figures we may draw two conclusions: First, behind the universal condemnation of "exploitation" there were quite different meanings attributed by the students to the word "exploitation." The sample was in fact highly differentiated in individual reactions to different aspects of egalitarian ideology. Second, individuals in the sample generally were more favorable toward concrete and practical postulates of limitation of wages in Poland (Items 4 and 6) than toward more ideologically formulated questions.

<sup>7</sup> From subgroup to subgroup, we found a strong association between this average and the proportion of "no upper limit" answers. The official exchange rate was 24 zloties for one dollar. Average income in Poland in 1958 was about 1,400-1,500 zloties per month.

#### IDEOLOGY AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF FAMILY

But now the questions arise: *Why* were the students so different in their reactions to the idea of equality in the field of economic goods? Which factors were responsible for this differentiation? In social theory, at least since the time of Karl Marx, we know that people having certain privileges of property, income, power, prestige, and the like tend to maintain these privileges and to entertain rationalizations defending their privileged positions. At the same time, negatively privileged people show a much higher probability of accepting the idea that existing privileges should be abolished.<sup>8</sup> To what degree, we may now ask, is this hypothesis supported if we take as an independent variable the actual socio-professional stratification among students' families, or expected income differentiation among Warsaw students, and as the dependent variable their reactions to an egalitarian ideology which attacks the position of some and boosts the (actual or expected) position of others?

The sample was divided into the following six socio-professional groups according to parents' occupation: professionals, intellectuals, and top management; white collar; craftsmen; workers; peasants; other or no answer. Table 1 provides data permitting us to enquire whether and to what degree this socio-professional differentiation of families influences the students' reactions to an egalitarian ideology.

<sup>8</sup> Interest in the theory of privilege in the context of Marxian theoretical tradition was most recently stimulated in Polish sociological literature by Andrzej Malewski, "Tresc empiryczna materializmu historycznego" (The Empirical Content of Historical Materialism), *Studia Filozoficzne*. . . . The author presents an empirically testable reformulation of some traditional Marxist hypotheses, including that of the tendency of "positively privileged" groups to reject any postulate attacking the privilege.

Starting from these theoretical formulations, Malewski also made a survey of the influence of income differentiation on egalitarianism, analyzing a sample composed of workers, white collar employees, and professional persons in several Warsaw factories and offices. At the same time, we included a set of items about egalitarianism in the questionnaire on students' social ideology. Both surveys provide confirmation of the "privilege" hypothesis.

TABLE 1. ATTITUDE TOWARD ECONOMIC EQUALITY, BY PARENTS' OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

	Parents' Occupational Status				
	Professionals, Intellectuals, Top Management	White Collar	Craftsmen	Workers	Peasants
(1) "Do you consider the tendency to abolish the exploitation of some men by others to be important?"					
Per cent answering "very important"	76%	78	84	83	88
(2) "Do you agree with those who assert that a wide range of salaries and wages constitutes an indirect form of exploitation of some people by others?"					
Per cent who "strongly disagree"	34%	28	26	16	20
(5) "Do you consider right the postulate that the incomes of all citizens should be roughly equal?"					
Per cent demanding implementation of this postulate "as soon as possible" or "slowly"	14%	23	26	26	25
(6) "In your opinion, what should be the upper limit of the monthly income of a working person in Poland?"					
Per cent answering "no limit"	14%	10	7	9	2
Mean limit proposed by others (zloty)	8,851	6,776	6,325	5,886	5,702
Number of cases	(98)	(241)	(57)	(121)	(137)

The responses to questions (1), (2), and (5)—all involving general statements—are only slightly related to the occupational status of the student's family. The situation changes drastically with the more practical question (6): "What should be the upper limit of income in Poland?" Here the reactions of students are closely related to the status position of their parents.

#### INTERPLAY OF OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AND FAMILY INCOME

The sample was then divided into five categories on the basis of family income, as indicated by the student. The degree to which the students are differentiated in their views on the acceptable upper limit of income, when they are classified according to the real income of their own families, is brought out in Table 2. In this case, the relationship of family income with question (6) is quite pronounced, and varies with the two other

questions (2 and 5) but is nevertheless visible. Egalitarianism of the students, then, is related to both the occupational status and the income of their families. But is it related to both independently? For, as shown in Table 3, the occupational position of the student's father is strongly related to the income of the family.<sup>9</sup>

Thus we see that the difference in reac-

<sup>9</sup> It should be noted that only 52% of students of peasant origin answered the question about family income, while 90% or more of each of the other socio-occupational categories answered this question. The principal reason for this contrast, we suppose, is the semi-monetary economy of Polish peasantry. It is often very difficult to estimate the real income of the family, and all declarations of this type are likely to be biased. But the external correlation seems to validate these "income declarations" made by students of peasant origin. The fact that the peasants' sons and daughters were mostly egalitarian as a whole socio-occupational category would seem to indicate the representativeness of their income declarations.



TABLE 2. ATTITUDE TOWARD ECONOMIC EQUALITY, BY FAMILY INCOME

	Monthly Family Income (Zloty)				
	Over 3,000	1,801-3,000	1,401-1,800	801-1,400	800 or less
(2) "Do you agree with those who assert that a wide range of salaries and wages constitutes an indirect form of exploitation of some people by others?"					
Per cent who "strongly disagree"	34%	30	23	28	22
(5) "Do you consider right the postulate that the incomes of all citizens should be roughly equal?"					
Per cent considering this postulate fundamentally wrong	60%	52	53	46	43
(6) "In your opinion, what should be the upper limit of the monthly income of a working person in Poland?"					
Per cent answering "no limit"	17%	12	9	6	5
Mean limit proposed by others (zloty)	8,700	7,154	6,740	5,924	6,963
Number of cases	(49)	(96)	(149)	(168)	(88)

tions to the postulates of egalitarian ideology existing between students from different occupational groups corresponds to differences in the average income of these groups. But now the question arises: Does this income differentiation of occupational groups explain sufficiently their different attitudes toward egalitarianism, or should additional factors be considered? More specifically, does the relationship between egalitarianism and occupational stratification disappear when income is kept constant?

When the average upper limit of income as proposed by the students is taken as the dependent variable, the relation between this mean and both the economic and the occupational stratification of the sample may be shown, as in Table 4. Introduction of the

family income variable does not do away with the relationship between the occupational status of the student's family and his opinions concerning the just upper limit of income in Poland. Therefore, occupational position cannot be said to determine these attitudes merely because it is correlated with the income of the family. Each of these two variables has its own relatively independent role in determining the student's attitudes. On the other hand, there is an apparent asymmetric "causal" relation between the occupational category of students' families and the income of these families. The type of work determines with high probability the income of the family, which is, in turn, causally related to egalitarianism. The occupational status of the student's family, then, is related to his egalitarianism both directly and indirectly through the intermediary of its relation to the income. Graphically, the relationships between these variables may be shown as follows:

TABLE 3. INCOME OF STUDENTS' FAMILY BY PARENTS' OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

Parents' Occupational Status	Average Monthly Family Income (Zloty)
Professionals, Intellectuals, and Top Management	3,064
White Collar	1,719
Craftsmen	1,622
Workers	1,398
Peasants	1,092

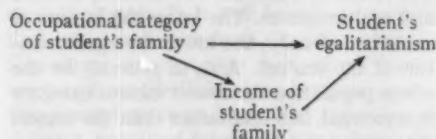


TABLE 4. PROPOSED UPPER INCOME LIMIT, BY PARENTS' OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AND FAMILY INCOME

Monthly Income of Student's Family (Zloty)	Average Monthly Income Limit (Zloty) Proposed by Students Whose Parents Are:				
	Professionals, Intellectuals, or Top Managers	White Collar Employees	Craftsmen	Workers	Peasants
More than 3,000	9,791 (30)*	8,181 (13)	8,000 (1)	5,000 (4)	.... ....
1,801-3,000	8,692 (29)	6,736 (45)	8,714 (8)	4,636 (11)	3,000 (1)
1,401-1,800	8,133 (16)	7,327 (63)	6,300 (22)	5,240 (30)	5,889 (10)
801-1,400	7,000 (6)	6,217 (73)	5,571 (14)	5,918 (38)	4,680 (25)
800 and less	3,000 (1)	7,153 (15)	6,000 (4)	7,590 (23)	5,774 (31)

\*Numbers in parentheses give the number of persons in each cell.

#### SOCIO-OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY AS A REFERENCE GROUP

An explanation of the data and of the scheme of relationships presented above is now in order. It seems that the occupational stratum in these relationships fulfills the role of a *reference group* for the students: that identification with groups differing in their economic situation for the student is a source of additional standards of social justice, and a source of norms regarding a just upper limit of income. These standards, together with the income of the student's family, determine his attitudes toward acceptable upper limits of income in Poland. The higher the reference group is located in the stratification of income, the less egalitarian these standards are.

Careful examination of the data of Table 4 reveals some additional interesting phenomena. For example, the negative relationship between family income and egalitarianism (that is, low proposed income limit) is fully present only in three occupational groups: professionals, white collar employees, and craftsmen. Among students of peasant origin the relationship is somewhat erratic, and among workers' children quite a visible *positive* correlation exists between family income and egalitarianism. The lower the income of a worker's family, the lower the egalitarianism of the student. And, in general, for the whole population the lowest income category is somewhat less egalitarian than the second category in the classification.

Relationships very similar to those shown in Table 4 are obtained when the relatively concrete and practical matter of the proposed income ceiling is replaced by responses to the remaining, more "ideological," egalitarianism questions. Responses to three of these questions (2, 4, and 5) were combined into an "Index of Ideological Egalitarianism." This made it possible to analyze these problems more exactly by computing coefficients of correlation between family income and egalitarianism for each of the occupational categories as well as for the total sample. Both the proposed income ceiling and the Index of Ideological Egalitarianism were used as measures of egalitarianism. The results are shown in Table 5.<sup>10</sup>

The relationships between the three variables—occupational status, income, and egalitarianism—are more complicated than expected. *The role of income differentiation differs in different occupational categories.* In the three higher groups there are visible negative correlations: the higher the income, the less the egalitarianism. In the two lower

<sup>10</sup> Here I am especially indebted to Robert H. Somers of the Bureau of Applied Social Research of Columbia University, both for his general advice in statistical analysis and for computing the coefficients in this study by the use of electronic computers. The coefficient used here is gamma, as proposed by Leo A. Goodman and William H. Kruskal, "Measures of Association for Cross-Classifications," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 49 (December, 1954), pp. 747-754. This coefficient is designed to measure the association between two ordered attributes.

TABLE 5. ASSOCIATION OF EGALITARIANISM AND FAMILY INCOME IN EACH OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

Parents' Occupational Status:	Association (gamma) of family income and egalitarianism, as measured by:	
	Low Proposed Income Ceiling	Index of Ideological Egalitarianism
Professionals, Intellectuals,		
Top Management	— .253	— .129
White Collar	— .173	— .092
Craftsmen	— .318	— .168
Workers	.054	.056
Peasants	.241	.126
Total Sample	— .203	— .097

groups the correlations are positive: the higher the income, the stronger the egalitarianism. At least some tentative explanations of these findings may be formulated. It seems, for example, that the higher the position of the psychological reference group in the system of the economic differentiation, the more closely the reactions to the economic differentiation are related to the differentiation itself. People identifying themselves with the highest occupational group, but placed at the bottom of their group in the repartition of income, have much stronger feelings of injustice than people with the same income, but identifying themselves with lower socio-occupational categories.

The case of craftsmen appears to be the first source of objection to this hypothesis, because for this category the coefficient of correlation between income and anti-egalitarianism is the highest, although it is not the highest in the stratification scheme. This objection disappears, however, if we assume, first, that the craftsmen's reference group is much broader than that indicated above and, second, that the sons of craftsmen are the only representatives in the sample of the economic sector of "free enterprise" in Poland. (The upper stratum of this private sector represents the highest level of income in the country, even though this stratum is relatively small.) Given these assumptions, the fact that the correlation between income and egalitarianism is strongest among the students from this category may be ex-

plained. The students belonging to higher categories of income believe that their chances for much higher income are probable. Students belonging to the lower categories of income within these strata feel themselves much more frustrated and, as a result, are much more egalitarian than the students from other socio-occupational groups. A similar line of reasoning helps to explain the well-known fact that professional politicians in opposition parties are usually much more ardent partisans of a democratic style of government than politicians of the majority parties, or, frequently, the majority of citizens, and not always for tactical reasons.

As for the two lower occupational categories, the explanation of the fact that here there are positive correlations between income and egalitarianism is much more complicated. Quite possibly a very low income encourages attitudes connected more with the tendency to change one's personal position than to change the existing system of inter-group relations. Some minimal standard seems to be necessary for the development of more general categories of thinking.

#### THE ROLE OF INCOME EXPECTATION AND ITS INTERPLAY WITH THE ACTUAL STATUS OF THE FAMILY

The actual economic interest of a student's family is not the only factor which might determine his reaction to egalitarian ideology. The student is in a transitory position between the social category of his parents and the category to which he will belong after completing his studies and taking up his own occupational activity. Thus we may predict that *expected* income will also play a certain role in determining the student's egalitarianism.

As there were no questions concerning income expectation in the questionnaire, we cannot analyze this problem directly. But we may approach it indirectly by taking as indicators of income-expectation the course of study and the character of school the student attends. It is well known in Poland that young engineers from the Polytechnical School are much better paid than young teachers from the University. How the egalitarianism of students from these two schools differs is suggested by the findings shown in

TABLE 6. ATTITUDE TOWARD ECONOMIC EQUALITY,  
BY SCHOOL ATTENDED

	School	
	University of Warsaw	Poly- technical School
(1) "Do you consider the tendency to abolish the exploitation of some men by others to be important?"		
Per cent answering "very important"	89%	77
(2) "Do you agree with those who assert that a wide range of salaries and wages constitutes an indirect form of exploitation of some people by others?"		
Per cent answering "definitely yes" or "rather yes"	32%	22
(3) "In your opinion, should the professions and jobs requiring a higher education be paid as much or more than professions and jobs which do not require a higher education?"		
Per cent answering "the same" or "somewhat higher"	27%	15
(4) "Do you think that the existing range of salaries in Poland should be reduced just now?"		
Per cent answering "definitely yes" or "rather yes"	55%	38
(5) "Do you consider right the postulate that all citizens' income should be roughly equal?"		
Per cent demanding implementation of this postulate "as soon as possible" or "slowly"	29%	13
(6) "In your opinion, what should be the upper limit of the monthly income of a working person in Poland?"		
Percent answering 5,000 zloties or less	55%	47
Mean limit proposed (zloties per month)	6,254	7,280
Number of cases	(181)	(269)

Table 6. (Other schools are not represented by sufficiently large parts of the sample to be included.) The two sub-samples are strongly differentiated in their egalitarianism: students at the University—who expect

lower incomes—are usually more egalitarian than their peers at the Polytechnical school.

The way in which this factor interplays with the actual status of the family in determining the student's reaction to different questions about egalitarianism is clarified by the data presented in Table 7. When egalitarianism is measured by the proposed income ceiling, the differences between schools are in the expected direction in each case. The picture of the relationship is less clear, but still visible, when the dependent variable is the Index of Ideological Egalitarianism.

To summarize: the egalitarianism of Warsaw students is determined both by the actual income of their families and by their own income expectations.

#### SELF-SELECTION OR GROUP INFLUENCE AND CHANGES IN TIME

Data presented above show that egalitarianism of students is strongly related to income expectation, as measured by their course of study. But two different explanations of this phenomenon are now possible: (1) The students were influenced by the environment of their schools and by the income possibilities connected with their future occupations, which they chose for other reasons than the anticipated income. (2) The students chose a certain course of study because they were interested in a given income; in this case, the relationship between the course of study and egalitarianism may be spurious in that both factors are determined by the student's income desire.

If the students chose their future occupation for reasons other than income expectation and desire, and were then influenced in their egalitarianism by the standards of their group, there should be a difference between students of the same school, if we divide them according to the time that they have attended the school. The groups of students from the University of Warsaw and from the Polytechnical School were therefore further divided according to their years of study, and the degree of egalitarianism of each of these sub-groups was measured as before; the findings are shown in Table 8. These figures show that the younger students, when classified according to type of study, are much less differentiated than the older ones.



TABLE 7. EGALITARIANISM, OCCUPATIONAL STATUS, AND COURSE OF STUDY

Parents' Occupational Status	Average Proposed Income Ceiling (Zloty)		Per Cent in Two Lowest Categories of Index of Ideo- logical Egalitarianism	
	University of Warsaw	Polytechnical School	University of Warsaw	Polytechnical School
Professionals, Intellectuals, Top Managers	8,454	10,270	48	63
White Collar Employees	6,298	7,298	44	59
Craftsmen	6,125	7,578	44	50
Workers	5,433	6,027	26	70
Peasants	5,285	6,000	24	56

The process of differentiation of attitudes, moreover, confirms the hypothesis that these attitudes are influenced by the impending salaries expected by the students, although not anticipated at the time of entrance to the school.

Of interest is the direction in which the egalitarianism of the students from different income categories changes as their studies proceed. It could be expected that the role of family background will decrease as students move nearer to their own occupational income. We may hypothesize, for example, that students from higher economic categories will change their attitudes in the direction of egalitarianism, while the degree of egalitarianism among poorer students will decrease as they grow older and more distant

socially from the economic positions of their families.

In order to answer these questions, Table 9 shows how the students' attitudes vary toward the idea of economic equality when both the income of the family and the year of study are controlled. If the Index of Ideological Egalitarianism is taken as the dependent variable, we find that the data go counter to the hypothesis. In nearly every income class, the degree of egalitarianism as measured by this index decreases from year to year: the older students are usually less egalitarian than the younger ones. But if the dependent variable is the students' proposals concerning upper limits of income in Poland, the findings tend to confirm the hypothesis.

The role of family standards regarding income differentiation, then, decreases as students approach the time of their own independent economic position. Instead of accepting the standards appropriate to the economic situation of their parents, the students more and more accept the standards of egalitarianism which correspond to their own expected income and future economic position.

#### THE ROLE OF PERSONAL CONTACT IN FACE-TO-FACE GROUPS

There is at least one important alternate interpretation of the data presented in the preceding paragraphs. It was proposed above that the increase over time in the differentiation between students at the University and at the Polytechnical School is due to the fact that the more advanced students are closer

TABLE 8. EGALITARIANISM, COURSE OF STUDY, AND  
YEAR OF STUDY

Year of Study	Average Proposed Income Ceiling (Zloty)	
	Polytechnical School	University of Warsaw
I and II	6,826 (111)*	6,597 (82)
III, IV, and V	7,804 (153)	5,974 (95)
	Per Cent in Two Lowest Categories of Index of Ideological Egalitarianism	
	Polytechnical School	University of Warsaw
I and II	50	43
III, IV, and V	67	38

\* Number of students in each cell in parentheses.

TABLE 9. EGALITARIANISM, FAMILY INCOME, AND YEAR OF STUDY

Monthly Family Income (Zloty)	Average Proposed Income Ceiling (Zloty)		Per Cent in Two Lowest Categories of Index of Ideological Egalitarianism	
	Year of Study		Year of Study	
	I-II	III-V	I-II	III-V
Over 3,000	9,000 (32)*	8,866 (21)	50	71
1,801-3,000	8,027 (50)	7,200 (45)	66	57
1,401-1,800	7,033 (64)	6,614 (83)	42	63
801-1,400	5,323 (72)	7,025 (99)	30	58
800 or less	5,667 (28)	8,607 (65)	46	49

\* Number of students in each cell in parentheses.

to their personal careers, and are thus more influenced by their own income expectations. A similar interpretation was offered for the waning over time of the association between egalitarianism and parents' income. But for both of these cases, there is another possible explanation. Perhaps operating in both cases is a process of *socialization*, of adaptation to the standards and norms of the respective school environment, and of desocialization from the family environment. While the character of the data does not permit a definitive test of the first interpretation, one of the questions in the survey permits us to observe quite clearly the role of face-to-face groups in the formation of attitudes.

This question concerns the place of residence. More than half of the students lived in dormitories, and only 46 per cent lived with their families. If the process of personal influence plays a major role in the sample under analysis, then the students living with their families should be much more differen-

tiated according to their families' status than those who live far away from their families and are far more involved in communication with their colleagues than with their families. Generally speaking, the degree of correlation between egalitarianism and socio-economic background should be notably higher among students living with families than among dormitory residents. Table 10 records certain indicators of egalitarianism when both the occupational category of the family and the place of residence are controlled.

Table 10 shows that in the category "with family," a strong relationship holds between the Index of Ideological Egalitarianism and income, while for students living in dormitories the picture is unclear and confused. This conforms to the hypothesis of socialization in face-to-face groups. The contrast is even sharper when instead of the general index of egalitarianism we take one single item, the percentage of those who *do not think* that a wide range of salaries is an in-

TABLE 10. EGALITARIANISM, PARENTS' OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AND PLACE OF RESIDENCE

Parents' Occupational Status	Average Proposed Income Ceiling (Zloty)		Per Cent in Two Lowest Categories of Index of Ideological Egalitarianism		Per Cent Who Do Not Think That a Wide Range of Salaries Is Exploitation (Question 2)	
	Place of Residence					
	Family	Dormitory	Family	Dormitory	Family	Dormitory
Professionals, Intellectuals,						
Top Managers	9,200	7,000	66	36	66	55
White Collar Employees	7,201	6,388	59	47	65	50
Craftsmen	6,695	5,857	45	50	55	40
Workers	5,418	6,142	39	50	52	50
Peasants	7,400	5,561	64	49	27	49

TABLE 11. ASSOCIATION OF ATTITUDE TOWARD ECONOMIC EQUALITY AND PARENTS' OCCUPATIONAL STATUS, IN EACH RESIDENTIAL CATEGORY

Indicator of Egalitarianism	Association (gamma) between Parents' Occupational Status and Specified Indicators of Egalitarianism among Students:		
	Living with Families	Living in Dormitories	Difference
Index of Ideological Egalitarianism	— .150	— .101	— .049
Egalitarian Response to:			
(1) (The exploitation of men should be abolished)	— .104	— .264	.160
(2) (A wide range of salaries is a form of exploitation)	— .205	.024	— .229
(3) (Jobs requiring higher education should not be paid much more than others)	.027	— .112	.139
(4) (The range of salaries in Poland should now be reduced)	— .043	.038	— .081
(5) (Income of all citizens should be equal)	— .165	— .004	— .161
(6) (The upper limit of income in Poland should be low)	— .314	— .105	— .211

direct form of exploitation. A similar contrast is obtained when the proposed income ceiling is used as the indicator of egalitarianism.

The data thus confirm the hypothesis that face-to-face contact with fellow students decreases the correlation between socio-economic background and egalitarianism. This hypothesis can be tested more precisely with the coefficients of correlation between parents' occupational status and egalitarianism, computed separately for students living in dormitories and with families as presented in Table 11. For the majority of items shown in the table, the data confirm the hypothesis that lack of personal contact and of intensive communication with families resulting from dormitory living decreases the correlation between family background and the egalitarianism of the student.

As the data presented above indicate, students living in dormitories are usually more egalitarian than those living with families. This is easily understood when we take into account the negative association between income (or occupational status of the family) and dormitory living. Only 22 per cent of the students from professional, top management, and intellectual homes, while 92 per cent of the peasants' offspring, live in dormitories. Students from lower-status families thus play a decisive role in forming the ideological standards of Warsaw dormitories, and push students of other social origins strongly toward their own, more egalitarian, views.

#### IDEOLOGICAL ATTITUDES AS INTERVENING VARIABLE

As we have seen, the different items concerning the egalitarianism of Warsaw students are visibly related to their socio-economic background characteristics. But now the problem may be posed in another way. We may ask whether not only the several items, but also the *pattern of their mutual relationships*, depend on the socio-professional stratification of the sample. The items are mutually interdependent to different degrees. The acceptance of one egalitarian item usually increases the probability of acceptance of others. Table 12 divides the sample according to the students' responses to one question (2), and shows the relationship of this question to another one (6).

But does the acceptance of question 2 have the same effect in determining the students' reactions to question 6 among students

TABLE 12. RELATIONSHIP OF TWO QUESTIONS ABOUT EGALITARIANISM

(2) "Do you agree with those who assert that a wide range of salaries and wages constitutes an indirect form of exploitation of some people by others?"	(6) "What should be the upper limit of the monthly income of a working class person?" (Mean of responses; zloty)
Strongly agree	5,426
Rather agree	6,392
Rather disagree	6,828
Strongly disagree	7,456

TABLE 13. RELATIONSHIP OF TWO QUESTIONS ABOUT EGALITARIANISM, BY PARENTS' OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

(2) "Do you agree with those who assert that a wide range of salaries is an exploitation?"	Parents' Occupational Status				
	Professionals, Intellectuals, Top Managers	White Collar Employees	Craftsmen	Workers	Peasants
	(6) Mean Proposed Income Ceiling (Zloty)				
Strongly agree	5,875	6,182	4,286	5,000	5,091
Rather agree	7,292	6,259	5,941	6,538	5,667
Rather disagree	8,833	7,246	6,333	6,179	5,625
Strongly disagree	10,833	7,138	5,727	5,538	6,125
Association (gamma) of questions 2 and 6					
	.456	.290	.251	.118	.171

belonging to different socio-professional categories? Table 13 shows that students from the several occupational backgrounds do indeed differ in the consistency of their ideological attitudes. This becomes especially clear upon inspection of the coefficients of correlation between these two items (last row of Table 13). The data show that students from higher socio-professional groups are usually less egalitarian, but much more consistent in their reactions. This may be easily understood if we suppose that the egalitarianism of a small part of this category is probably the result of intellectual and ideological reflection against their self-interest, while the egalitarianism of a great part of the lower socio-economic strata is much more spontaneous and at the same time much less consistent.

#### DEGREE OF PRACTICAL INVOLVEMENT AS A DIMENSION OF THE IDEOLOGY

The full list of egalitarianism questions may be classified in many different ways. Some of the questions are specific, others are more general; some have a rather vague character, while others demand a very precise attitude; and so on. One of these dimensions of egalitarian ideology is of particular sociological interest: the questions may be ordered according to the degree to which favorable responses call for specific action. We call this dimension the degree of practical involvement.

It may be inferred, for example, that an attitude of "condemnation of exploitation of some people by others" implies action to a

lower degree than the statement, "Incomes of all citizens should be roughly equal." Again, the statement, "The range of salaries in Poland should be reduced" is, in this sense, less "action involved" than the statement "It should be reduced to the limit of 5,000 zloties per month."

This dimension of the ideology seems to be important because of the expectation that the degree of association of a given "egalitarianism item" with the respondent's self-interest will depend on the degree of practical implication of the item for changing the existing state of affairs.<sup>11</sup> The more practically involved the item, the more it should be correlated with self-interest as measured, for example, by the socio-occupational stratification of the sample.

To what degree is this hypothesis justified? Table 14 records the correlations between family income and responses to the several egalitarianism questions. The questions are ordered according to the dimension of prac-

<sup>11</sup> Theoretically we should expect that answers on a certain question concerning privilege should be related to the privilege stratification of the answering sample in the degree determined by two different dimensions—(a) *The more radical changes in the privilege stratification is proposed by this answer*, (b) *the more direct action toward the elimination of privilege is implied by the answer—the more the affirmative answers on the questions concerning the abolition of privilege will be related to the actual privilege distribution*. This formulation was avoided in the text because we tried to omit statements not based on the data of the survey. Confirmation of a hypothesis of this type would demand many more items concerning the same topic (in this case, economic egalitarianism) than were included in the questionnaire.



TABLE 14. ASSOCIATION OF FAMILY INCOME AND INDICATORS OF EGALITARIANISM ORDERED ACCORDING TO THEIR DEGREE OF PRACTICAL INVOLVEMENT

Egalitarian Response to:	Coefficient of Association		
	Tschuprow's T	Tau	Gamma
(6) (The upper limit of income in Poland should be low)	.16	.152	.203
(5) (Income of all citizens should be equal)	.14	.098	.140
(2) (The wide range of salaries is a form of exploitation)	.10	.083	.108
(4) (Range of salaries in Poland should be reduced)	.10	.027	.034
(3) (Jobs requiring higher education should be paid better)	.08	.068	.109
(1) (Exploitation of some people by others should be abolished)	.07	.062	.130

tical involvement, as seen by the author. As the measure of correlation we use three coefficients: a rank correlation coefficient (gamma), a second rank correlation coefficient (Kendall's Tau), and Tschuprow's coefficient of contingency T.<sup>12</sup>

Two of the coefficients give results strongly supporting the hypothesis formulated above and stressing the role of action involvement as an important dimension of the ideology. The third coefficient (gamma) gives somewhat different results. Even if these data are not sufficient for broader generalization, the observation itself seems to be worth further exploration.

#### CONCLUSIONS

In presenting the response of a sample of Warsaw students to questions concerning the idea of economic equality, we recalled at the beginning of this paper the well-known hypothesis that responses of this type are correlated with the self-interest of the responding persons. The hypothesis was confirmed when self-interest was measured either by the occupational or the income stratification of the students' parents. It was also con-

firmed when self-interest was measured by the income expectations of the students themselves. These relationships were then elaborated by introducing several test variables. It was found that:

1. The population changes its attitude in time, so that the role of family background decreases and the role of income expectation increases in time.

2. The type of personal contact of the student and the degree of his communication with his family, as measured by his place of residence, plays an important role in determining the character of the relationship between family background and egalitarianism.

3. The degree of consistency of egalitarian ideology (as measured by the correlation between different items) depends on the socio-occupational group of the respondent, and is higher for higher social groups.

Finally, we formulated the hypothesis that in an ideology of this type, which is correlated with self-interest, the intensity of the correlation of different items of this ideology with self-interest may depend on the degree to which a given item is practically involved in changing the existing privilege stratification, and the degree to which it is a real threat to privilege. Correlational analysis seems to support the view that the role of practical involvement is an important dimension of an ideology of this type.

<sup>12</sup> Regarding tau, see Maurice G. Kendall, *Rank Correlation Methods*, New York: Hafner, 1955, Chapter 3.

## WEBER'S CATEGORIES OF AUTHORITY AND VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS

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*The ideology of voluntary social groups in America tends to be anti-authoritarian. The constituency of these groups is distrustful of centralization and further rationalization of their organizations. However, to achieve the imperative goals of these voluntary associations bureaucracy is necessary, social tension increases, and the problems of authority and power become increasingly acute. Modes for the legitimation of authority are found to be significantly different in these associations than those Max Weber developed for the analysis of authoritarian systems. The utility of his categories of authority may be increased by the addition of three sub-categories.*

THE recent history of voluntary associations in America is characterized by intra-organizational disputes between national leaders and local constituency. The daily papers offer dramatic accounts of conflicts between local and national leaders in labor unions, patriotic organizations, political parties, fraternal societies, and religious denominations. Always implicit, often explicit, in these arguments is the problem of authority and power. At the basis of the ideology which governs the organization and activities of voluntary associations is an insistence upon the autonomy of the local units. The viewpoint of the constituency is that the primary task of the national leaders is to implement the desires of the grass roots. In addition, it is often claimed that every effort should be made to curtail centralization of power.

These problems can be defined and analyzed with greater facility in some of the major religious denominations than in the sphere of secular associations. This is the case because such groups as the Baptists, Congregationalists, and Disciples have explicitly allocated authority to their local congregations and have refused to grant an inclusive legal authority to the leadership of their national organizations. Alterations in the wider social environment have given rise to internal contradictions in the belief system and to conflicts between the primary goals they are seeking to achieve. In the wake of the organizational revolution voluntary associations, both religious and secular, have found it increasingly difficult to make an effective impact upon their social environment. Trends in economic and political life have

forced these groups to develop bureaucratic hierarchies in order to achieve their goals.

In a study the author made of the American Baptist Convention<sup>1</sup> it was found that this denomination, for example, although ideologically opposed to a bureaucratically organized hierarchy, is at the same time committed to an international missionary program which requires the efficiency of a highly rationalized denominational organization.<sup>2</sup> The members of this group, therefore, are faced with the anomaly of demanding from their leaders effective fulfillment of their responsibilities without conferring upon them the authority to achieve these goals. Among the highly rationalized associations in the United States, the Baptists have been outstandingly radical in their refusal to operate without recourse to well-defined lines of rational-legal authority.<sup>3</sup> But a leadership divested of authority will necessarily seek and gain power in order to meet its responsibilities.<sup>4</sup> Ironically, since this power is undefined and covert, it often exceeds that which ordinarily accrues to leaders of authoritarian and hierarchical institutions.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Paul M. Harrison, *Authority and Power in the Free Church Tradition: A Social Case Study of the American Baptist Convention*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 49, 136 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 7, 60 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 59, 62, 78, 191.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 59, 74, 83 ff. This observation appears to hold for several labor leaders on the contemporary scene. Their authority is periodically challenged by members of the constituency, who, even with the aid of Congressional committees, are unable seriously to weaken the position of the leaders.

WEBER'S CATEGORIES OF AUTHORITY

The utility of Max Weber's categories of authority has often been demonstrated. But they have not been systematically used to analyze problems which arise in voluntary associations. Friedrich has observed that Weber's categories are primarily applicable to three types of social system: an army, a business enterprise, and a totalitarian bureaucracy.<sup>6</sup> Their utility for the analysis of voluntary social systems, however, is sustained if they are used in conjunction with sub-categories already implicit in Weber's discussion.

According to Weber, "the members of the administrative staff may be bound to obedience to the superior (or superiors) by custom, by affectual ties, by a purely material complex of interests, or by ideal (*wertrational*) motives. . . . In addition there is normally a further element, the belief in legitimacy."<sup>7</sup> The nature of the claim to legitimacy determines the type of authority as well as the mode of social organization of the group. Legitimacy is rooted in law, tradition, or the charismatic qualities of the leader himself.<sup>8</sup> The important consideration, according to Weber, is that the claim to legitimacy be treated as valid.<sup>9</sup>

Presumably, in an investigation of the authority claims of the Lutheran, Episcopalian, or Roman Catholic hierarchies Weber's typology is useful without alteration. Not only the administrative staff—which was Weber's primary interest—but also the constituencies of these religious groups obey the ecclesiastical dignitaries as legally legitimate authorities. Legitimacy is rooted in the laws of the church. Among the members of these communions there is a commonly accepted "belief in the 'legality' of patterns of normative rules and the right of those elevated to authority under these rules to issue commands. . . ." <sup>10</sup> The officials of the church do

not exercise authority because of the charismatic attributes of their person, nor primarily on the basis of tradition, but because the "keys to the kingdom" (law) were given to Peter.

Weber called attention to "anti-authoritarian" social systems<sup>11</sup> which tend to place a high value on individual freedom and autonomy of the local units. Perhaps because they are anti-authoritarian and do not accept law, tradition, or charisma as a basis for legitimation, he did not analyze systematically the problems of authority and power peculiar to these groups. It is misleading to call these systems "non-authoritarian." No social system can operate on a continuous basis without support from some mode of authority, no matter how informal and inadequately defined it may be. The majority of Baptists, for example, insist upon "the competency of the individual soul in all matters of faith and practice" and the limitation of the power of their national leaders.<sup>12</sup> They do this despite the presence of a powerful, centralized bureaucratic organization which does possess a legitimate basis of authority.

In the American Baptist Convention the executive professionals do gain legitimacy by means of rational rules. The primary purpose of the Convention is to achieve the common missionary and evangelistic goals of the autonomous churches.<sup>13</sup> It is an expedient or pragmatically conceived institution, which, so long as it achieves these goals, has a legitimate right to exist. But it never exists because of a direct order from God, as in the case of the Roman Catholic Church. The Convention was instituted by the churches and for the churches. Its officers are elected and appointed by delegates from the churches. When the executives formulate and implement policy they do so because it is expedientally necessary and no other rational course exists.

RATIONAL-PRAGMATIC AUTHORITY

Given the professed ideological presuppositions, the basis for the legitimation of authority is rational in the Baptist convention. In

<sup>6</sup> Carl J. Friedrich, "Some Observations on Weber's Analysis of Bureaucracy," R. K. Merton et al., editors, *Reader in Bureaucracy*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1952, p. 31.

<sup>7</sup> Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, translated by A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons, New York: Oxford University Press, 1947, p. 324.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 328.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 327.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 328.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 412.

<sup>12</sup> Harrison, *op. cit.*, pp. 22, 56-59.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 38 ff.

the absence of legal legitimacy the logical alternative is pragmatic legitimation. The Baptist churches accept the Convention as a *rational-pragmatic authority*. The authority of the executives is not rooted in any of the three modes of legitimacy postulated by Weber. Neither can it be said, with Weber, that the constituency is bound to obedience by custom, affectual ties, by material interests, or by ideal motives. The only respect in which the authority of the executives is grounded in law is in their relation to the sub-executives. But in comparison with a business enterprise or an army, for example, this is an extremely narrow range for the operation of legally legitimated authority.

Because of the refusal of the constituency of anti-authoritarian associations to recognize the existence of power and authority in their own social system serious ambiguities arise. In the first place, when the constituency believes an official has violated his trust their predictions—based on anti-authoritarian predilections—are fulfilled. Power once again has corrupted; it is not necessarily the official but the system itself which is at fault. Therefore, rather than to seek for a normal replacement of the incumbent, the existence of the office itself may be questioned. This obviously places all executives in voluntary systems in a precarious position. Secondly, however, the executives often acquire more power than they would had they greater authority. An authority based on law defines the limits of the officeholder in a manner which is unavailable to an expedientally legitimated system. Since the authority of the Baptist executive is so poorly defined and his existence as an official is tenuously based, he is forced to seek covert means for achieving the goals for which he is responsible.<sup>14</sup> Finally, in contrast to the status of the executives, the formal authority of the local churches is great. However, because they are autonomous and widely separated, both geographically and ideologically, their power is significantly attenuated.

<sup>14</sup> This places unusual strains upon the informal system of power in the American Baptist Convention. In contrast to the formal system of authority, the informal system provides an efficient and adaptive means for achieving the goals of the institution and assuring its integrity despite the limitations established by the formal belief system. Cf. Harrison, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-85.

On the basis of these observations of the American Baptist Convention it may be possible to develop theoretical generalizations concerning the nature of rational-pragmatic authority and to compare it with rational-legal authority. Weber wrote that "the purest type of exercise of legal authority is that which employs a bureaucratic administrative staff. . . ." <sup>15</sup> The bureaucracy functions according to the following criteria:

1. In the legally legitimated bureaucracy there is "a continuous organization of official functions bound by rules." <sup>16</sup> Even in voluntary associations, insofar as the rules apply to the relationship between administrative personnel, the authority of offices is legally legitimated. The relationship between administration and constituency, however, is substantially different. In the legally sanctioned organization the lowest member—layman, buck private, or shipping clerk—accepts the statutory authority of the priest, general, or corporation president. The relationship is markedly different in voluntary associations. As in any democratic organization, the members enjoy the theoretical right to contradict the highest official and to work for his removal if this is deemed necessary.<sup>17</sup>

2. In the legally sanctioned bureaucracy there is "a specified sphere of competence. This involves (a) a sphere of obligations to perform functions which have been marked off as part of a systematic division of labor. (b) The provision of the incumbent with the necessary authority to carry out these functions. (c) That the necessary means of compulsion are clearly defined and their use is subject to definite conditions." <sup>18</sup> In the pragmatic bureaucracy there is a sphere of obligations and functions as well as a division of labor, but as noted above, the relationship between official incumbents and the constituency seriously detracts from the "necessary authority to carry out these functions." It follows that in voluntary associations the

<sup>15</sup> Weber, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 330.

<sup>17</sup> Harrison, *op. cit.*, pp. 88 ff., 131. This can only be considered a theoretical right because free discussion presupposes access to sources of information and equality of opportunity to use the instruments of communication. Voluntary associations are not immune to the bureaucratic monopolization of technical information. Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 159 ff.

<sup>18</sup> Weber, *op. cit.*, p. 330.



means of compulsion are not clearly defined and their use is not subject to definite conditions. The executives of anti-authoritarian groups possess few such privileges in relationship to the local units. Therefore, they are forced to utilize sanctions based on power rather than authority. In voluntary associations there is a greater dependence on the part of the leaders upon organized violence, economic sanctions, and propaganda to bring deviant sub-personnel and constituency "into line."

3. "The organization of offices follows the principle of hierarchy."<sup>19</sup> In pragmatically legitimated associations this principle is utilized strictly as an expedient instrument to achieve the goals of the social group. There is greater emphasis on the functions of office than upon the superior or inferior authority of the members of the administrative staff. There is considerable emphasis upon goal-achievement, for example, increases in membership quotas, wage increases, and success in fund-raising. Occupancy of an office never enables the incumbent to gain access to special channels of truth. Pragmatically legitimated authority is never self-sustaining in the sense that the leader can point to himself and his administrative colleagues as unique interpreters of their own authority.<sup>20</sup>

4. Both pragmatically and legally legitimated bureaucracies operate on the principle "that the members of the administrative staff should be completely separated from ownership of the means of production and administration."<sup>21</sup>

5. Both also obey the principle that "administrative acts, decisions, and rules are formulated and recorded in writing."<sup>22</sup>

6. In the anti-authoritarian system an office seldom "constitutes a career."<sup>23</sup> More likely, the office will be viewed as a "calling." Efforts to make a formal career of one's office, even if they may contribute to more efficient and successful operations, are viewed with suspicion by the constituency. Activity in office is more likely to be approved if it is treated as an arduous calling

involving total devotion of personal resources to the fulfillment of one's task.

7. "Candidates are selected on the basis of technical qualifications . . . tested by examination or guaranteed by diploma . . . or both. They are *appointed*, not elected."<sup>24</sup> In the pragmatically legitimated bureaucracy technical qualifications play an important role *after* the official has been appointed. The relatively tenuous character of the incumbent's authority means that during the recruitment procedure itself greater attention must be paid to qualities of personality (charisma) than in a system based on rational-legal authority.

#### CHARISMATIC AUTHORITY

One source for the validation of authority, according to Weber, is the charismatic power of an individual who "is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least superficially exceptional powers or qualities."<sup>25</sup> There is significantly greater dependence upon the executive who possesses a striking personality in the pragmatically legitimated system. This creates a conflict in the system since charismatic authority is "outside the realm of everyday routine and the profane sphere. In this respect, it is sharply opposed both to rational, and particularly bureaucratic authority. . . ."<sup>26</sup>

These considerations suggest another sub-type of authority, which may be called *quasi-charismatic authority*. Although this sub-type is implicit in Weber's analysis, there is a significant difference between the leader who is believed to be "supernaturally endowed" and one who is thought to possess "superficially exceptional qualities." The quasi-charismatic leader denotes a successor to the original charismatic founder. He is especially attractive to the constituency because it is believed he is sufficiently endowed with the qualities of the original leader to warrant obedience.

Quasi-charismatic authority plays a more significant role in the anti-authoritarian system than in the "pure type" of bureaucratic staff. In the pragmatically sanctioned system

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 331.

<sup>20</sup> Harrison, *op. cit.*, pp. 67 ff.

<sup>21</sup> Weber, *op. cit.*, p. 331; Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

<sup>22</sup> Weber, *op. cit.*, p. 332.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 334.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 333.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 358.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

the institutional order has not advanced to the final stages of the process of rationalization. The authority of the leaders, far from being unquestioned, is continually suspected by the constituency. Therefore, anti-authoritarian groups make systematic efforts to curtail the process of rationalization. Deeply rooted sentiments against over-specialization, subordination, and superordination are fully operative in this type of social system. This fosters institutional instability. There is a conscious desire on the part of large blocs of the constituency for a revolt against established routines and traditional symbols. Thus a quasi-charismatic leader seldom needs to seek support—it is always present and merely requires exploitation. When the executive leader experiences the inadequacies of pragmatic authority he may seek to convince the constituency of his own charismatic gifts and of the need for revolutionary change of the existing order.<sup>27</sup>

#### MIMETIC-TRADITIONAL AUTHORITY

In Weber's analysis a third mode of legitimacy is based on tradition. A system of authority is called traditional when "legitimacy is claimed for it and believed in on the basis of the sanctity of the order and the attendant powers of control as they have been handed down from the past, 'have always existed.'"<sup>28</sup> As in other social orders, when this system is threatened by external forces or becomes involved in internal disputes the leaders seek to reinforce their crumbling authority.

The utility of Weber's typology can be increased by another sub-category. Until recent times the American Baptists have refused to accept a period in their own history as traditional in a normative sense.<sup>29</sup> In fact, they have viewed traditionally legitimated authority as a further effort to compromise the autonomy of the local churches and the free activity of the Holy Spirit. Therefore,

current attempts to seek a normative phase in their history as a mode of legitimation lack the realism of a tradition based on long-standing practice, and the effort possesses a synthetic quality. There is also empirical evidence in other social systems—notably in the American South—that some affluent or politically powerful leaders attempt to rally support for traditional symbols and modes of action which are losing their affective significance with the people. In such a situation an effort is made to maintain the social system in the name of traditions which have lost their functional utility. Therefore, *mimetic-traditional* authority denotes the effort of the elite members of a society to maintain support for the self-interested purpose of sustaining existing norms and procedures and to forestall social change.

Anti-authoritarian systems are characterized by instability. In the contemporary situation leaders of voluntary associations are attempting to achieve goals which tend to be contradictory. On the one hand, they require a bureaucracy to realize the mission of their organizations; on the other hand, their ideology is rooted in democratic traditions which are inimical to the tendency of technical bureaucracy to depersonalize the individual and to segregate roles on a functional and hierarchical basis.

The Baptists have found no satisfactory solution for the dilemma. Their efforts to avoid formal and legal authority structures have been subject to radically disruptive influences and they have been forced to seek alternative methods for the allocation of power. Anti-authoritarian systems cannot avoid the existence of authority, even though it is only pragmatically validated. Recognition of the instability of voluntary social systems does not enable an observer to predict the future of these groups. One fact, however, is inevitable: the leaders will seek permanence for their groups by establishing themselves as the legitimate possessors of power. Whether these efforts will result in the establishment of legal, pragmatic, or traditional forms is not clear.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Harrison, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-77. In the Baptist situation this is most noteworthy among the local executives at the state level. When they visit the local churches they make every effort to preach, in the words of one official, "dynamic sermons to put myself across," before discussing church business or state-wide problems.

<sup>28</sup> Weber, *op. cit.*, p. 341.

<sup>29</sup> Harrison, *op. cit.*, pp. 36 ff.

<sup>30</sup> The Baptists show a marked tendency, especially among their intellectuals, to seek normative criteria of action and to establish legitimate authority on a basis of long-standing tradition. Despite the fact that the earliest leaders of the movement

## CONCLUSION

Much that has been said seems to imply the demise or radical alteration of voluntary associations. It is therefore of first importance to realize that the problems of power are not eliminated by noble purpose. In any social system power is shared by those who are able and willing to mobilize the political, economic, psychological, and ideological resources of the community. In modern social experience this has been accomplished most

in the seventeenth century were sectarian and highly diverse in their doctrinal views the current plea of many spokesmen is for general agreement concerning "the normative phase of our history." Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 26, 36.

effectively by the highest administrative leaders. But over-centralization can become dysfunctional. It appears that a balance can be established only if the members of the local units gather their forces and create a viable rationale for their existence. The freedom of the individual and the autonomy of the local group can never be sustained in absolute terms. According to the ideology of voluntary associations, only in a local community of individuals gathered for a common cause can the voice of the people be spoken. But it is only in wider associations of these local groups which have been gathered to mobilize the opinion of all the company, that the voice of the people will be heard.

## CORRELATES OF TRADE UNION PARTICIPATION: A SUMMARY OF THE LITERATURE

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*Studies of American trade unions have contributed significant data comparing the participant and non-participant members. Many variables appear to be correlated with union activity, but these can be meaningfully grouped into three classes: objective conditions of job and residence, personal associations, and personal orientations. All of these are interrelated. The objective conditions conducive to union activity are those which encourage personal contact with work colleagues (particularly other active unionists) and those which stimulate relative job satisfaction. The resulting orientations which encourage union participation include the acceptance of work experience as a central life value and the acceptance of the work group or the "working class" or both as a salient reference group. Theories about trade unions are criticized for their lack of attention to the union activists.*

THE lack of widespread membership participation in most trade unions, a counterpart of the similar phenomenon in other large-scale organizations, is a commonplace observation of both theorists and investigators. Many persons are active members of their unions, however, whatever the proportion in specific unions. Research on American trade unions has produced a wealth of material which strives to answer the question: Which unionists are more likely to be active and why? This paper is a summary statement of an extensive analysis of approximately 35 published reports of studies in this area.<sup>1</sup> The reports include case histories of

specific union locals, comparisons of international unions and of locals, and comparisons of individuals and groups within single locals. The methods used range from impressionistic participant observation to statistical treatment of precisely formulated surveys.

We are primarily interested in analysis of participation in those situations where unions are well-established, where the problems of initial organization and recognition have been settled for some time. Indexes of participa-

recent investigation of participation in four union locals (Arnold S. Tannenbaum and Robert L. Kahn, *Participation in Union Locals*, Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson, 1958). This valuable research report was received after this summary evaluation had been completed.

<sup>1</sup> The writer, regretfully, has not been able to include the material from Tannenbaum and Kahn's

tion vary, although holding a union office, serving on a committee, and attendance at meetings are commonly used; other criteria include voting in union elections, reading union literature, and using the grievance procedure. Some of these obviously imply more intense involvement than others, but the findings reported here are generally unaffected by the indexes utilized. However, in some cases the official local leaders—unpaid officers and shop stewards—are singled out for special attention.

Before outlining what emerges from these studies it should be pointed out that many variables conceivably correlated with union participation are not treated because there is insufficient attention, lack of significant data, or grossly conflicting data. For instance, there are surprisingly few systematic inquiries into the effect of the special characteristics of the individual unions—local and international—on the participation patterns of individuals. There are numerous detailed narrative accounts of individual locals and a few about international unions, but such elements as the formal structure, the degree of internal democracy, the history of organization, and the position of the international within the organized labor movement, which, *a priori*, seem to be related to the degree and kind of membership activity, are rarely sufficiently analyzed as factors affecting participation. The conspicuous exceptions are the well-known study of the Typographical Union and the work of Seidman and his associates at the University of Chicago.<sup>2</sup>

Belief in "unionism" and in the general policies of the national and local union is of course a necessary condition for active par-

ticipation. But it is not sufficient. Most of the members of a United Mine Workers local, for example, expressed unqualified loyalty to their union, but few attended meetings. There was little motivation for local union activity as almost all labor-management policies were decided at the national level.<sup>3</sup> Participation also requires a belief that activity is functional, that it can achieve observable results. This is further borne out by the finding that, within several industrial plants, those departments with a record of *satisfied grievances* tended to have large numbers of active unionists.<sup>4</sup>

The major variables associated with union participation, except for those already cited, can be grouped under the headings of *objective features*, *personal associations*, and *personal orientations*.<sup>5</sup>

#### OBJECTIVE FEATURES

*Job.* The two most important types of objective factors appear to be those of the job and residence. The nature of the job, the studies strongly suggest, has important implications for personal relationships, income, and status.

(1) Effect on interpersonal relations: Small plant size seems to facilitate union participation for it establishes a more intimate work community, encouraging personal relations among work mates and facilitating more widespread involvement in decision making.<sup>6</sup> Another possible correlate is a stable work force.<sup>7</sup> However, studies have noted widespread participation among building trades workers, a very "casual" work

<sup>2</sup> Seymour M. Lipset, Martin A. Trow, James S. Coleman, *Union Democracy: The Internal Politics of the International Typographical Union*, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1956; Joel Seidman, Jack London, and Bernard Karsh, "Leadership in a Local Union," *American Journal of Sociology*, 56 (November, 1950), pp. 229-237; Joel Seidman, Jack London, and Bernard Karsh, "Why Workers Join Unions," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 274 (March, 1951), pp. 75-84; Joel Seidman, Jack London, Bernard Karsh, and Daisy L. Tagliacozzo, *The Worker Views His Union*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958; Daisy L. Tagliacozzo and Joel Seidman, "A Typology of Rank and File Union Members," *American Journal of Sociology*, 61 (May, 1956), pp. 546-553.

<sup>3</sup> Seidman, London, Karsh, and Tagliacozzo, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

<sup>4</sup> Leonard R. Sayles and George Strauss, *The Local Union: Its place in the Industrial Plant*, New York: Harper, 1953, pp. 192-195.

<sup>5</sup> In some cases, the elements included under the respective categories form a causal chain, as should be apparent from the later discussion. A specific objective feature fosters particular interpersonal relations which engender personal orientations conducive to union activity. However, all the listed items do not readily fall into such a causation model.

<sup>6</sup> Lipset, Trow, and Coleman, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-25, 144-148; Seidman, London, Karsh, and Tagliacozzo, *op. cit.*, p. 190; Joel Seidman, "Democracy in Labor Unions," *Journal of Political Economy*, 61 (June, 1953), p. 223.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*



group.<sup>8</sup> This apparent discrepancy is readily explainable by the fact that both situations encourage the development of close personal ties over a period of time. Building trades workers have had numerous opportunities to work together in different jobs. In fact, the very instability of the industry demands that, in order to learn about jobs and conditions in the industry, it is necessary to attend union meetings, be informed of union affairs, be friendly with fellow workers and union officials, and appear frequently in the union hall. The "slack season," which brings large numbers of employees together at union headquarters, has had a similar effect on some garment workers.<sup>9</sup>

Among typographers, two specific job features stimulate on and off the job personal contacts and resultant widespread union participation: the large proportion of night workers, and the unique substitute system by which a printer selects his replacement when going on leave.<sup>10</sup>

Within specific industrial shops, those whose jobs permit mingling with many other workers, as is true of maintenance men, tend to be more active.<sup>11</sup> In contrast, those whose jobs isolate them from other workers tend to be very apathetic.<sup>12</sup> Work groups the members of which work closely together and are relatively homogenous in pay, skill, and background tend to participate more in union affairs.<sup>13</sup> The general conclusion is simply that those whose jobs facilitate and encourage frequent contact with fellow workers are more likely to be union activists.

(2) Pay and status: Union activity is typically associated with a relatively "higher" job. Thus, craft locals generally exhibit more participation than industrial locals.<sup>14</sup> Among

needle trades workers, the high status cutters and pressers participate more than do the others.<sup>15</sup> Within industrial locals, the evidence is also striking that union activists, especially local leaders, except for the period of initial organization and during faction fights in some unions, are disproportionately drawn from those of relatively higher pay and job status.<sup>16</sup>

*Residence.* Where one lives (or has lived) appears to be the other type of objective variable associated with union participation. In terms of community of origin, those with rural backgrounds have been shown to be less involved in their unions than those brought up in an urban environment, while, at the opposite pole, the very active "ideological unionist" is mostly a product of politically-sophisticated metropolitan centers.<sup>17</sup> As a result of both past and current influences, workers in industries that foster isolated geographic communities of fellow workers—for example, miners, fishermen, and, in a special sense, seamen—tend to have very strong pro-union attitudes throughout the world. If not always productive of intense local union activity, as in the case of United Mine Workers' groups, these sentiments do encourage such corollary forms of

"Membership Participation in the American Flint Glass Workers Union," *The Southern Economic Journal*, 18 (July, 1951), pp. 83-92; Glenn W. Miller and James E. Young, "Membership Participation in the Trade Union Local," *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, 15 (October, 1955), p. 36.

<sup>10</sup> Sayles and Strauss, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 143-153, 202-208; Seidman, London, Karsh, and Tagliacozzo, *op. cit.*, p. 171; Theodore Purcell, *The Worker Speaks His Mind on Company and Union*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953, p. 205; Tomi E. Kyllonen, "Social Characteristics of Active Unionists," *American Journal of Sociology*, 56 (May, 1951), pp. 528-530. Only one possible exception has been noted: in one automobile plant, the least active included a greater proportion of skilled workers. However, there was no information on whether the more active members among the semi-skilled and unskilled tended to be lower or higher in pay and status than the less active semi-skilled and unskilled. See William H. Form and H. K. Dansereau, "Union Member Orientations and Patterns of Social Integration," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, 11 (October, 1957), p. 11.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10; Tagliacozzo and Seidman, *op. cit.*, p. 548; William F. Whyte, "Who Goes Union and Why," *Personnel Journal*, 23 (December, 1944), pp. 221-223.

<sup>8</sup> Seidman, London, Karsh, and Tagliacozzo, *op. cit.*, pp. 188-190; George Strauss, "Control by the Membership in Building Trades Unions," *American Journal of Sociology*, 61 (May, 1956), pp. 527-535.

<sup>9</sup> Herbert A. Shephard, "Democratic Control in a Labor Union," *American Journal of Sociology*, 54 (January, 1949), p. 315.

<sup>10</sup> Lipset, Trow, and Coleman, *op. cit.*, pp. 127-139.

<sup>11</sup> Sayles and Strauss, *op. cit.*, pp. 148-149.

<sup>12</sup> Seidman, London, Karsh, and Tagliacozzo, *op. cit.*, pp. 132-133.

<sup>13</sup> Sayles and Strauss, *op. cit.*, pp. 197-202.

<sup>14</sup> Lipset, Trow, and Coleman, *op. cit.*, *passim*; Seidman, London, Karsh, and Tagliacozzo, *op. cit.*, pp. 188-190; Strauss, *op. cit.*; H. Ellsworth Steele,

participation as heavy turnouts in voting for candidates considered pro-union.<sup>18</sup>

This suggests the most common finding on residence-community factors, namely, that relative coincidence of geographic and occupational community facilitates union participation. Those who live in the town in which the plant is located are more likely to be active than workers who live "out of town," particularly residents of the "urban fringe."<sup>19</sup> Work mates who live close together tend to be more active in their unions.<sup>20</sup> Many unionists insist that the great distance between their homes and the union hall is at least a partial explanation for their inactivity.<sup>21</sup>

Yet, this concurrence of geographic and occupational community can have very diverse effects. The result can be a local parochialism highly antithetical to the ideological unionism that grows up in the metropolis. Small industrial towns often reveal a close paternalistic bond between the workers and the owners and supervisors, which militates against union participation.<sup>22</sup> When this bond is broken, however, the geographically cohesive worker community is likely to exhibit a high level of union activity.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Seidman, London, Karsh, and Tagliacozzo, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19, 23-25; Seymour M. Lipset, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Alan Barton, and Juan Linz, "The Psychology of Voting," in Gardner Lindzey, editor, *Handbook of Social Psychology*, Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1954, Vol. 2, pp. 1131, 1140.

<sup>19</sup> Form and Dansereau, *op. cit.*, p. 10; Kyllonen, *op. cit.*, p. 532.

<sup>20</sup> Sayles and Strauss, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

<sup>21</sup> Miller and Young, *op. cit.*, p. 41; Purcell, *op. cit.*, pp. 203-204; Seidman, London, Karsh, and Tagliacozzo, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 116-117; W. Lloyd Warner and J. O. Low, "The Factory in the Community," in William F. Whyte, editor, *Industry and Society*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1946, pp. 35-38.

<sup>23</sup> Seidman, London, Karsh, and Tagliacozzo, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-125. I am currently attempting a preliminary test of the effect of suburbanization on trade union participation and loyalty. My hypothesis is that movement to residential suburbs not only means greater separation from work mates (and possibly from "working class" people generally) but exposure to the middle-class opinion leaders of the suburbs and their values. Trade union attachment, therefore, would suffer. Of course this one factor should not be viewed as divorced from the other influences that affect union values and activity; all tentative statements along these lines are thus made with the classic proviso: "other things being equal."

#### PERSONAL ASSOCIATIONS

Some of the findings under this heading have already been implied by the data on objective conditions. Job situations leading to frequent and close associations with many fellow workers encourage union participation. Residential features which facilitate contact with worker colleagues, or with other "pro-union" people, stimulate union activity. Such interpersonal relations are intensified among typographers, with their many special printers' organizations and more informal leisure-time contacts, which is one of the reasons for their unusual involvement in union life.<sup>24</sup> If not as extensive, the structure of the industries and the craft identifications create a guild-like occupational community among many building and garment workers.<sup>25</sup> Leisure-time association seems also a concomitant of participation in industrial locals. Thus, one study of several industrial locals disclosed a statistical correlation between the extent of off-job contacts with fellow workers and attendance at union meetings.<sup>26</sup>

Membership in two types of non-job social groups also seems to be associated with union participation.<sup>27</sup> In accordance with common

<sup>24</sup> Lipset, Trow, and Coleman, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-75, 85-92, 135-139.

<sup>25</sup> Sayles and Strauss, *op. cit.*, p. 204; Seidman, London, Karsh, and Tagliacozzo, *op. cit.*, pp. 188-190; Strauss, *op. cit.*, pp. 170-171.

<sup>26</sup> Lois R. Dean, "Social Integration, Attitudes, and Union Activity," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, 8 (October, 1954), p. 51. This finding is very clearcut. In one of the plants studied, for instance, less than a third who were not friendly with any work colleagues off the job attended any regular union meeting, while more than two-thirds of those with many such friendships attended at least some union meetings.

<sup>27</sup> For present purposes it is both difficult and unnecessary to distinguish between historical and contemporary influences exerted by such group memberships. Earlier personal influences are generally continuously reinforced. It is also true that such group memberships could have readily been classified under *objective* factors, but it appears more meaningful to focus on the purely interpersonal aspect. For instance, a deprived ethnic status is an objective condition which each person can feel separately. But, in the absence of reciprocal pro-union communication between fellow ethnics, it will have little bearing on union activity. On the other hand, the listed objective conditions of job and residence automatically affect union activity, given the general level of unionism in most American communities.

expectations, those with union family backgrounds tend to be more active.<sup>28</sup> Secondly, union activists are disproportionately drawn from specific ethnic groups—Negroes, Mexicans, Jews, and Catholics—a finding also consistent with impressionistic observations.<sup>29</sup> In general, these different groups may be classified as “deprived”: minority ethnic status means some form of personal economic and social discrimination, or at least fears of such discrimination. These ethnics have thus been particularly responsive to the union’s emphasis on collective efforts for improvement, frequently reflected in a greater degree of participation than is found among work colleagues from “dominant” ethnic groups. In some situations, however, the ethnic-occupational sub-community provides a clearly-defined setting for transmission of intense union loyalties which encourage participation, as among Jewish garment workers and Welsh and Scotch miners.<sup>30</sup> Finally, work groups with common ethnic ties, whatever the minority ethnic group, tend to include more activists.<sup>31</sup>

A few additional items have been reported of relevant interpersonal influences. Those workers related to or friendly with supervisors and owners are unlikely to be union activists.<sup>32</sup> As already noted, a paternalistic atmosphere at least creates the illusion of intimacy, which can militate against union activity.<sup>33</sup> Workers who are friendly with union leaders are more likely to be active.<sup>34</sup> Contrariwise, those who know few union activists personally are less likely to participate themselves.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Purcell, *op. cit.*, p. 214; Seidman, London, Karsh, and Tagliacozzo, *op. cit.*, pp. 23–24, 174–175.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 193; Form and Dansereau, *op. cit.*, p. 11; Purcell, *op. cit.*, pp. 149, 154–155, 196; Shephard, *op. cit.*, pp. 313–315; Will Herberg, “The Old Timers and the Newcomers,” *Journal of Social Issues*, 9 (1, 1953), pp. 12–19.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18; Shephard, *op. cit.*; Sayles and Strauss, *op. cit.*, pp. 217–219.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 202.

<sup>32</sup> Seidman, London, Karsh, and Tagliacozzo, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 116–117; Warner and Low, *op. cit.*

<sup>34</sup> Tagliacozzo and Seidman, *op. cit.*, p. 549. The evidence indicates that contact with union leaders and activists is not merely a result of union activity; the personal contacts may precede union involvement.

<sup>35</sup> Seidman, London, Karsh, and Tagliacozzo, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

One area in which the studies offer quite contrary findings is the relationship between union activity and membership in other, non-occupational organizations.<sup>36</sup> More precise formulation of the variables involved might resolve these differences. First of all, the nature of these other organizations is important. If their membership is concentrated among industrial workers, their influence will be different from that of a “multi-class” organization, as suggested in one study.<sup>37</sup> Furthermore, two conflicting factors may be at work. One is the fact that union activists may have less time for or interest in other organizations. On the other hand, as discussed below, they also seem to possess a high activity potential and sociability drive, which should stimulate participation in all organizations.

These observations suggest a simple “differential association” model. The likelihood of union participation is enhanced by personal contact with pro-union work colleagues, union leaders, family members, ethnic associates; it is diminished by personal contacts with supervisors and non-union or anti-union friends, and as indicated in the material on residence, non-working-class neighbors.

#### ORIENTATIONS

*Job Satisfaction.* The most general observation here is that participation tends to increase with degree of job satisfaction. The craft gratification of many active skilled workers is one illustration. This relationship is also implicit in the findings that workers with higher pay and status within industrial locals tend to be “better unionists.”

Studies of several industrial locals provide highly convincing evidence for this contention. Three of the reports, using observations of nine different unions, affirm that activists usually like their jobs more than non-activists.<sup>38</sup> These findings, of course, seem to

<sup>36</sup> Form and Dansereau, *op. cit.*, p. 9; Kyllonen, *op. cit.*; Sayles and Strauss, *op. cit.*, pp. 121–123; Seymour M. Lipset and Joan Gorden, “Mobility and Trade Union Membership,” R. Bendix and S. M. Lipset, editors, *Class, Status and Power*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1953, pp. 497–498.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> Dean, *op. cit.*, p. 52; Form and Dansereau, *op. cit.*, p. 8; Seidman, London, Karsh, and Tagliacozzo, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

contradict the typical assessment of the union activist as motivated primarily by resentment over some feature of the work situation. Actually, if activists are more protesting it is probably because they are indignant about supervision, favoritism, and the like—about particular aspects of the job situation, not about the job itself. Such attitudes may characterize particularly the local leadership.<sup>39</sup> Rank and file activists, however, may be no more critical of supervisors than other rank and filers.<sup>40</sup>

Another aspect of job satisfaction may be involved—the relation to aspirations, particularly mobility strivings. Those more oriented towards occupational advance, particularly towards a supervisory or managerial position, are less likely to be active in their unions.<sup>41</sup> However, the actual potentiality for vertical mobility seems clearly unrelated to union participation.<sup>42</sup> What seems to be more significant is the importance of mobility as a goal. For instance, one account describes local leaders as having more opportunities for appointment to supervisory positions but as being less interested in them.<sup>43</sup> Those who feel thwarted in their aspirations, especially if they accuse the union of some responsi-

bility for their situation, are very prone to union apathy.<sup>44</sup>

Another element of job satisfaction is the role of the union in fostering such satisfaction. Even though the union's part in improving working conditions usually affects most members, those who verbally emphasize this fact are more likely to be activists.<sup>45</sup>

Few union activists seem to be consciously motivated by a desire for a full-time union position.<sup>46</sup> But union involvement can make the job situation much more pleasant and meaningful by providing an area for creativity and interpersonal influence and an avenue for status not found in the job itself.<sup>47</sup> The union activists, particularly the local officials, apparently require such an outlet, for they are commonly found to be very "outgoing," "liking to deal with people," "possessing high activity levels" and "nervous tension."<sup>48</sup>

*Non-Work Interests.* The active unionist thus has a positive orientation to his work situation as well as to his work group. This further steers him toward personal contacts with fellow-worker unionists, reinforcing pro-union values. As a counterpart, other values and commitments are de-emphasized: he spends less time with his family and shows less interest in fixing up his home.<sup>49</sup> In contrast, a non-activist may exclaim that he has "too much work to do on my house."<sup>50</sup>

With their positive orientation towards the work situation, it might be expected that

<sup>39</sup> Seidman, London, and Karsh, "Leadership in a Local Union," *op. cit.*, pp. 232-233; Arnold Rose, *Union Solidarity—The Internal Cohesion of a Labor Union*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1952, pp. 163-164.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 66-68; George Strauss and Leonard R. Sayles, "Patterns of Participation in Local Unions," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, 6 (October, 1952), pp. 35-36. Other investigations of "dual allegiance" or "dual loyalty" are concerned with attitudes rather than activities; as such, they are largely irrelevant to our purposes. See Lois R. Dean, "Union Activity and Dual Loyalty," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, 7 (July, 1954), pp. 526-536; Willard H. Kerr, "Dual Allegiance and Emotional Acceptance-Rejection in Industry," *Personnel Psychology*, 7 (March, 1954), pp. 59-66; Ross Stagner, "Dual Allegiance as a Problem in Modern Society," *Personnel Psychology*, 7 (March, 1954), pp. 41-47.

<sup>41</sup> Form and Dansereau, *op. cit.*, p. 12; Tagliacozzo and Seidman, *op. cit.*, pp. 551-552.

<sup>42</sup> Seidman, London, Karsh, and Tagliacozzo, *op. cit.*, p. 183; Lipset and Gorden, *op. cit.*, p. 495; Rose, *op. cit.*, p. 150; John W. Alexander and Morroe Berger, "Grass Roots Labor Leader," in Alvin W. Gouldner, editor, *Studies in Leadership*, New York: Harper, 1950, pp. 178-181.

<sup>43</sup> Seidman, London, Karsh, and Tagliacozzo, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 251; Form and Dansereau, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-12.

<sup>45</sup> Tagliacozzo and Seidman, *op. cit.*, p. 548.

<sup>46</sup> Seidman, London, and Karsh, "Leadership in a Local Union," *op. cit.*, pp. 232-233; Ely Chinoy, "Local Union Leadership," in Gouldner, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-173, 160-161.

<sup>47</sup> Miller and Young, *op. cit.*, p. 45; Seidman, London, and Karsh, *op. cit.*, pp. 232-233; Seidman, London, Karsh, and Tagliacozzo, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 191; Purcell, *op. cit.*, p. 210; Sayles and Strauss, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-103; Eli Ginzberg, *The Labor Leader: An Exploratory Study*, New York: Macmillan, 1948, pp. 92-93.

<sup>49</sup> Chinoy, *op. cit.*, p. 159; Kyllonen, *op. cit.*, pp. 530-532; Purcell, *op. cit.*, p. 217; Sayles and Strauss, *op. cit.*, pp. 110-111; Seidman, London, Karsh, and Tagliacozzo, *op. cit.*, p. 187; Alvin W. Gouldner, "Attitudes of 'Progressive' Trade Union Leaders," *American Journal of Sociology*, 52 (March, 1947), p. 389.

<sup>50</sup> Chinoy, *op. cit.*, p. 160.



activists would tend to be less interested in leisure activities than non-activists. Several studies, utilizing the personal remarks of a few non-activists or the comments of local officials, report that many workers prefer to have a "good time" rather than to be active in the union, or would rather "go to a ball game or a show" or "sit home and read a book" than attend a union meeting.<sup>51</sup> But the evidence is not very substantial that activists are either less involved in or more oriented toward leisure pursuits. One study found that those who regularly attended union meetings were a little more likely to be regular card players and fishermen than the infrequent attenders.<sup>52</sup> In a poll of a cross section of a community's industrial workers, union activists were shown actually to be a little more likely to "prefer leisure to work" than non-activists.<sup>53</sup> The data at hand are thus, at best, uncertain. However, it would be necessary to know more about the nature of the leisure activity ("active" versus "passive," for example) and the type of leisure associates, as well as the activity level of the different unionists, before the notion implied in our earlier statements can be discounted—that union activity generally means sacrificing some leisure activity. As a final commentary, the union itself can become an area of leisure-type functions for many active unionists.<sup>54</sup>

As indicated above, the union activists are less likely to find their close friends among non-occupational colleagues. At least in larger communities, their neighborhoods typically provide fewer close contacts; in fact, one study shows that union activists tend to have a lower estimate than non-activists of their neighborhoods and communities as places to live.<sup>55</sup>

*Class Identification.* The active unionist, then, views his work group or the "working class" or both as a significant reference group. He emphasizes *collective* rather than

*individual* efforts for improvement.<sup>56</sup> According to several of the reports, many local leaders seem to be especially interested in helping the "working man" as an ethical or religious imperative.<sup>57</sup> Whether he does or does not have a combative attitude towards management, the activist is "class conscious," that is, he sees himself as a *worker*, and tends to perceive industrial disputes from the vantage point of the "workers" rather than from the side of "management."<sup>58</sup>

#### SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

In this digest of research findings on trade unions I have sought to extricate the variables associated with participation or lack of participation. In no sense, is this an attempt to portray the *modal* activist; I have merely listed those elements which tend to be associated with union activity. However, the matrix of objective conditions, personal associations, and orientations related to participation suggests one encompassing formula: union activity increases with the extent to which the work situation contains positive values and the work group, immediate or extensive, is regarded as a significant reference group in comparison with other values and other membership groups.

Theories about trade unions are generally concerned with the function of the union as an organization—in the collective bargaining process, in the plant organization, in the community, and so on.<sup>59</sup> The members are in fact usually viewed as consumers, satisfied, or occasionally resentful, of the manner in which the leader-entrepreneurs are achieving basic union goals of fulfilling economic demands and checking management authority. Unquestionably, this is the predominant ori-

<sup>56</sup> Seidman, London, Karsh, and Tagliacozzo, *op. cit.*, pp. 256-258; Fred A. Blum, *Toward a Democratic Work Process: The Hormel-Packinghouse Workers' Experiment*, New York: Harper, 1953, pp. 43-47.

<sup>57</sup> Purcell, *op. cit.*, pp. 211-212; Sayles and Strauss, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-105; Tagliacozzo and Seidman, *op. cit.*, pp. 547-550.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 552; Miller and Young, *op. cit.*, pp. 41, 45.

<sup>59</sup> See Mark Perlman, *Labor Union Theories in America—Background and Development*, Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson, 1958, an account of trade union theories of American scholars before the 1930s, which also presents most of the known popular theoretical approaches.

<sup>51</sup> Purcell, *op. cit.*, pp. 203-204.

<sup>52</sup> Kyllonen, *op. cit.*, p. 532.

<sup>53</sup> Lipset and Gorden, *op. cit.*, pp. 495-496.

<sup>54</sup> Purcell, *op. cit.*, pp. 205-206; Sayles and Strauss, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-114; Joseph Kovner and Herbert J. Lahne, "Shop Society and the Union," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, 7 (October, 1953), p. 11.

<sup>55</sup> Form and Dansereau, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

entation of a large proportion of those who belong to most American unions. In this case, they view their union as a service. The unions become a protective agency to which dues are paid regularly. Therefore personal involvement is minimal.

But there are unpaid activists in all union locals, whatever their number. Few students of the labor movement have included them in their theoretical expositions, despite the fact that they have been located in the several studies cited above. The union participant is a necessary ingredient without which most local unions could not operate. There must be personnel to fill posts, opinion leaders to inform and stimulate, a cadre to mobilize for the various modes of latent and overt combat.<sup>60</sup>

To use the terminology of one study, the major institutional purposes of a union are *economic* (satisfying economic needs of workers) and *political* (serving as a rival power to management).<sup>61</sup> These aims also define the core expectations of most union members. At the same time, however, the activists—those who feel part of a “movement,” who speak of “we” rather than “they,” who “enjoy playing the union game”—need, in addition, a *social* orientation. As a result of whatever influences and motivations, their union *tends* to take on, in the classic sociological language, a communal rather than a societal character.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>60</sup> According to one estimate, approximately 500,000 union members serve in some unpaid offices or on some committees at any given time in the contemporary American labor movement. See J. B. S. Hardman, “Labor in Midpassage,” *Harvard Business Review*, 31 (January, 1953), p. 45.

<sup>61</sup> Form and Dansereau, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-12.

<sup>62</sup> This language may suggest an affinity to the “human relations” approach or to those trade union theorists who see in unionism a return to a quasi-medieval structure. (See Frank Tannenbaum, *A*

The extent of this group may help to determine the amount of intelligent criticism of both local and national leadership (even in a union with little “democracy”) and the size of the reservoir for future competent leadership. But it will also help to decide how much communication is being received from the leadership and how much genuine support is available for its policies. That is why so many union leaders desire more participation by more members, even if they are fearful of the incipient opposition that this may engender.

From this examination of the literature, the following conclusion emerges: participation in trade unions is enhanced by those factors which makes for greater identification with one's occupational situation and occupational community, and diminished by those influences which foster contrary orientations. The nature of the job, the type of residence, the modes of interpersonal influences (past and present), and the orientation towards work life and work mates comprise the elements which determine that identification. Ultimately, union activity is a result of the acceptance of work, work place, work mates, and “working class” as somehow constituting a very meaningful part of the union member's life—not merely as instrumental features which are useful for the achievement of gratifications elsewhere.<sup>63</sup>

*Philosophy of Labor*, New York: Knopf, 1951). Actually, I refer to quite different matters. This paper does not analyze the role and functions of unions as organizations, nor does it discuss the question of why workers *join* unions—but only why particular members are *active* or *inactive* in well-established unions.

<sup>63</sup> The nature of the particular union, the pattern of collective bargaining, and the type of leadership undoubtedly affect union participation. But, as indicated earlier, the studies examined rarely analyze the effect of such factors on union activity.

# METROPOLITAN COMMUNITY RESIDENTIAL BELTS, 1950 AND 1956 \*

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*Data from Survey Research Center national samples indicate that the suburban belts around standard metropolitan area central cities between 1950 and 1956 became areas of increased concentration of families (1) with higher incomes, (2) whose heads had skilled or semi-skilled occupations, (3) who were engaged in raising children, and (4) who were living in more expensive housing. During this period, the areas beyond the suburban belts had greater increases in families whose heads had business or professional occupations and in moderate cost housing than did the central cities. The data indicate the continuation of the major characteristics found by previous research. Furthermore, the increased suburban concentration of skilled and semi-skilled family heads points up a growth in suburban occupational heterogeneity as more prosperous families continue to overflow rigid central city boundaries.*

SINCE the end of World War II, there has been much speculation and discussion, particularly in popular magazines, of supposed trends in the characteristics of residents of metropolitan central cities and suburbs. Actual studies of these trends, however, have been limited in number and extensiveness.

While leading students of human ecology have presented excellent theoretical interpretations<sup>1</sup> of the processes of urban growth, most recent studies have been limited to one point in time.<sup>2</sup> Examples include the investigation of differentiation within the metropolitan community by Kish,<sup>3</sup> Bogue's study of centers of dominance<sup>4</sup> (both based on 1940 census data), and the Duncan and Reiss study of 1950 census data.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Among the most prominent of the recent publications are Amos H. Hawley, *Human Ecology*, New York: Ronald, 1950; and James A. Quinn, *Human Ecology*, New York: Prentice-Hall, 1950.

<sup>2</sup> One fine exception to this tendency is Amos H. Hawley, *The Changing Shape of Metropolitan America*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1956.

<sup>3</sup> Leslie Kish, "Differentiation in Metropolitan Areas," *American Sociological Review*, 19 (August, 1954), pp. 388-398.

<sup>4</sup> Donald J. Bogue, *The Structure of the Metropolitan Community*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1949.

<sup>5</sup> Otis D. Duncan and Albert J. Reiss, Jr., *The*

This report considers trends, between 1950 and 1956, in five socio-economic and three demographic characteristics of families and heads of families within three large residential belts of the metropolitan community. The metropolitan community is considered to include that area lying within 50 miles of the central city of a standard metropolitan area. The data presented were gathered by the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan in the course of its 1950 and 1956 Consumer Finances surveys and its 1956 survey of Consumer Expectations.

It is assumed that a metropolitan community grows by extending its central and subcentral business districts into the surrounding inner residential areas and by building newer, more expensive residential areas in the outer or suburban belt.<sup>6</sup> Consequently, it may be hypothesized that the inner core of the metropolitan community becomes increasingly occupied by commercial and industrial functions and poor families. At the same time, the outer or suburban belt supposedly becomes more and more peopled by families who exhibit middle class traits, have more children, and have younger family heads than families residing in the inner core.

## METHODS

The central city residential area is defined as the central city of a standard metropolitan area.<sup>7</sup> The suburban residential belt is de-

*Social Characteristics of Urban and Rural Communities, 1950*, New York: Wiley, 1956.

<sup>6</sup> For a thorough discussion of these assumptions, see Hawley, *Human Ecology*, *op. cit.*, Chapters 13, 14, 19, and 20; and Quinn, *op. cit.* pp. 295-395.

<sup>7</sup> Where the Bureau of the Census designates more

financed as that part of a central city's county outside of the latter's 1950 boundaries (or, where the central city is its own county, the counties surrounding the central city).<sup>8</sup> A third area—the adjacent area residential belt—is considered to be the district located beyond a suburban belt but within a 50 mile radius of a central city.

Recent interest in the characteristics of the adjacent area residential belt and in its relation to the central city and suburban belts prompted the decision to investigate this third residential zone.<sup>9</sup> Because of constant invasion of the adjacent area by the suburban belt and the expansion of small cities in the adjacent area, the question arises as to how this outlying residential belt's interrelations with the two inner residential areas have changed in recent years.

The design used for the collection of these data is a national multi-stage, stratified, clustered sample consisting of 66 primary sampling units.<sup>10</sup> Within each primary sampling unit, several secondary selections are made; within the secondary selections, tracts or blocks or other minor civil divisions are sampled, and within each division a sample of dwelling units is obtained. Within the dwelling units, interviews are conducted with the heads of families or their wives on the Consumer Expectations surveys, and with heads of spending units on Consumer Finances surveys.<sup>11</sup>

than one central city, only the largest (and any other central city of 250,000 or more in population in 1950) was classified as central city residential area.

<sup>8</sup> In New England, only that part of a central city's county (or surrounding counties) within its standard metropolitan area was considered suburban.

<sup>9</sup> For example, see Bogue, *op. cit.*, and Kish, *op. cit.*

<sup>10</sup> For some details of this sample design, see George Katona, Leslie Kish, John Lansing, and James Dent, "Methods of the Survey of Consumer Finances," *Federal Reserve Bulletin*, 36 (July, 1950), pp. 795-809.

<sup>11</sup> The Survey Research Center defines a family as consisting of a person or group of persons living in the same dwelling unit who are related to each other by blood, marriage, or adoption. The head of a family is the person mainly responsible for the family finances—the individual who owns the house, pays the major share of the financial support, or the like. In the case of married couples, the husband is always considered the head of the family. A spending unit is defined as a person or group of persons who are in the same family unit and who depend

TABLE 1. NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS IN EACH RESIDENTIAL BELT FOR 1950 AND 1956\*

Belt	1950	1956**	1956
Central	1069	903	2260
Suburban	626	740	1876
Adjacent	558	561	1615
Total	2253	2204	5751

\* The interviews shown are the bases for the percentages presented in Table 3.

\*\* In 1956, the percentages for liquid assets and rental cost or value of the dwelling unit are based upon these interviews. All other 1956 percentages are based upon the second 1956 column.

In order to obtain information concerning the three residential belts from sample data, the following procedure was used:

1. The 66 primary sampling units were classified into (a) those which contain all or part of a standard metropolitan area; (b) units not containing standard metropolitan areas, but the geographical centers of which are within 50 miles of the central city of a standard metropolitan area; and (c) units the geographical centers of which are more than 50 miles from the central city of a standard metropolitan area.

2. The definitions of the central city and suburban residential belts presented above were applied to the interviews taken within the primary sampling units of group (a). Consequently, those interviews made at addresses within the 1950 boundaries of a central city were assigned to the *central city* residential area. Interviews conducted at addresses outside the central city boundaries but within its county (or surrounding counties as explained above) were assigned to the *suburban* residential belt.

3. All interviews made within the primary sampling units of group (b) fell into the *adjacent* area belt.

4. All interviews conducted within the primary sampling units of group (c) were dropped from this investigation.

After the interviews obtained within each primary sampling unit were classified into residential belts, the equivalent residential belts were grouped together for analysis. In other words, all interviews classified as falling into central city residential belts were grouped together to form a national sample

upon a common or pooled income for their major items of expense.



of central cities; all interviews classified as falling into suburban residential belts or into adjacent area residential belts were grouped together to form national samples of suburban belts and of adjacent area belts.

Sample surveys based on complex sample designs pose complicated problems since most statistical formulas used to guide and design analyses assume simple random sampling.<sup>12</sup> All samples used in this study are complex. The task of performing "simple" significance tests became a series of steps requiring a complicated statistical formula and the use of an electronic computer. The number of cases upon which study percentages are based is presented in Table 1.

In the analysis of the data use was made of sampling error tables derived from 36 specific sampling errors.<sup>13</sup> These tables are designed so as to take into account the additional contribution to the variance derived from clustered samples.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> For a thorough discussion of these problems, see Leslie Kish, "Confidence Intervals for Clustered Samples," *American Sociological Review*, 22 (April, 1957), pp. 154-165.

<sup>13</sup> For an excellent presentation of the procedures and statistical formulas used to obtain sampling errors and significance tests, see Leslie Kish and Irene Hess, "On Variances of Ratios and of their Differences in Multi-Stage Samples," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 54 (June, 1959), pp. 416-446.

<sup>14</sup> Such tables consist of a low level estimate of the sampling error based upon the standard simple random sampling formula, i.e.,

$$s.e. = \sqrt{\frac{p_1q_1}{n_1} + \frac{p_2q_2}{n_2}}$$

and a high level estimate of the sampling error which tries to take into consideration any additional amount of variance derived from clustering, i.e.,

$$s.e. = k \sqrt{\frac{p_1q_1}{n_1} + \frac{p_2q_2}{n_2}}$$

where  $k$  is the clustering factor. In the sampling error tables used for this study  $k=1.7$ .

When the difference between two percentages was less than twice the low level estimate of sampling error, the two percentages were not considered significantly different. When the difference between two percentages was greater than twice the high level estimate of sampling error, the two percentages were considered significantly different at the 95 per cent confidence level. When the difference between two percentages fell between twice the low and high level estimates of sampling error, the question of significance was considered unresolved.

Similarly, the sampling errors of individual percentages can be computed from the formula

$$1.7 \sqrt{\frac{pq}{n}}$$

Again, multiplication by 1.7 gives a high level esti-

mate which takes clustering into account. If the 1.7 factor is omitted, the standard simple random sample value is obtained.

In many cases, the percentages of the various residential belts are not significantly different primarily because the data are based on too few interviews. To overcome this problem and to provide additional support for those instances where significant differences exist, a replication test was devised. First, the interviews were grouped into residential belts within approximately the four regions utilized by the Bureau of the Census.<sup>15</sup> The interviews were then grouped into three additional national sample residential belt classifications: (1) residential belts the central cities of which had 250,000 and over population in 1950; or under 250,000; (2) residential belts with central cities showing an average annual rate of growth of one per cent or more from 1940 to 1950, or under one per cent; (3) residential belts the central cities of which have a ratio of the number of production workers (as reported by the 1954 *Census of Manufactures*) to the central city's 1950 population of 11 per cent and more, or under 11 per cent. Finally, percentages of the eight study characteristics were computed within the residential belts of the four regional groups and the six high-low divisions based upon population size, rate of growth, and amount of manufacturing.<sup>16</sup>

It was found that the various rank relations between percentages in the three residential belts, when grouped nationally, were repeatedly replicated between the three residential belts within the regional and high-low groupings. Table 2 presents the number of replications within these ten groupings of the specific rank relations and patterns of change found among the three residential belts. The high-low groups are not completely

mate which takes clustering into account. If the 1.7 factor is omitted, the standard simple random sample value is obtained.

<sup>15</sup> These regional definitions can be found in *1950 Census of Population: Number of Inhabitants*, Vol. I, Table 6, Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1950, p. 1-8. The Census classifications were slightly modified by shifting Delaware, Maryland, and Washington, D. C. to the northeastern region from the southern region. This involved only two primary sampling units, Baltimore and Washington, D. C.

<sup>16</sup> For a detailed presentation of these results and of the methods described here see Bernard Lazewitz, *Some Characteristics of Residential Belts in the Metropolitan Community, 1950-1956*, Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Michigan, 1958.

TABLE 2. NUMBER OF TIMES THE NATIONAL RESIDENTIAL BELT PATTERNS ARE REPEATED IN FOUR REGIONAL AND SIX POPULATION, RATE OF GROWTH, AND AMOUNT OF MANUFACTURING GROUPINGS

Characteristic	Number of Pattern Replications		
	1950	1956	Change from 1950 to 1956
1. Family head has 8 years or less of schooling	9*	5	8*
2. Family head has 1-4 years of high school	8*	5	6
3. Family head has 1 or more years of college	6*	6	7
4. Family head has a business or professional occupation	8*	7	5
5. Family head has a clerical or sales occupation	5	9*	5
6. Family head has a skilled or semi-skilled occupation	1	5	5
7. Family head has an unskilled occupation	7*	7*	2
8. Family income under \$4000	7*	8	10*
9. Family income \$4000-\$7499	7*	4	9*
10. Family income \$7500 or more	9*	8	10*
11. Family liquid assets under \$1000	7	6	5
12. Family liquid assets \$1000-\$4999	6	2	5
13. Family liquid assets \$5000 or more	6	7	7*
14. Du. monthly rent under \$100 or worth under \$10,000	8*	8	10*
15. Du. monthly rent \$100-\$199 or worth \$10,000-\$19,999	8*	8	9*
16. Du. monthly rent \$200 or more or worth \$20,000 or more	8	6	10*
17. Family has 3 or more children under 18 years	7	5*	5
18. Family head under 45 years	4	8*	4
19. Early family life cycle	7	6	5

\* An asterisk indicates that the residential belts in at least three of the four regions repeat the national residential belt pattern.

independent of the regions or of each other. Nevertheless, the different groupings do enter, in large measure, into each of the three residential belts within the various classifications. Consequently, a complex relationship somewhere between independence and dependence (probably nearer independence) exists among the regions and high-low groups. If complete independence is assumed among these ten groupings, then for any three distinct rank relations between the national sample of belts—that is, the suburban belt with the highest percentage of a given characteristic, the central area the second highest, and the adjacent belt the lowest—there would be only a 2.5 per cent chance of the specific rank relations being repeated five or more times on a random basis in the ten groups. Similarly, a specific pattern of change within the three national residential belts from 1950 to 1956—with each residential belt showing a higher percentage in 1956 than in 1950—would have only a 2.5 per cent chance of occurring five or more times on a random basis in the ten groups. Therefore, relations between the three national residential belts unsupported by significant differences, but replicated a sufficient number of times, receive some sta-

tistical support. It is probably correct to infer the existence of differences between belts that are not functions of sampling variations when the patterns formed by these differences are replicated five or more times.

#### FINDINGS

The central city residential area frequently is pictured with an increasing percentage of low income, poorly educated, blue-collar families. Conversely, the suburban residential area is often portrayed as having more and more high income, well educated, business and professional workers and their families. Very little systematic treatment of family characteristics in the adjacent area belt is to be found in the literature.

A more accurate picture of these residential belts is suggested by the percentages shown in Table 3. Apparently, the overall family composition of the three belts remained about the same from 1950 to 1956. The central and adjacent area belts appear to be more often the place of residence of families exhibiting low status characteristics. The suburban belt seems to be more frequently the headquarters of families of high status.

TABLE 3. PERCENTAGES IN 1950 AND 1956 AND PERCENTAGE CHANGES BETWEEN 1950 AND 1956 OF SEVERAL SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES FOR THE ENTIRE METROPOLITAN COMMUNITY AND ITS THREE RESIDENTIAL BELTS

Characteristic		Entire Metropoli- tan Com- munity Per Cent	Central Residen- tial Area Per Cent	Suburban Residen- tial Belt Per Cent	Adjacent Residen- tial Belt Per Cent
1. Education of family head					
(a) Eight grades or less	1950	44	43	35	53
	1956	35	34	31	42
	Change 1950-1956	-9	-9	-4	-11
(b) Some high school or high school graduate	1950	38	38	45	34
	1956	44	44	46	42
	Change 1950-1956	6	6	1	8
(c) One or more years of college	1950	18	19	20	13
	1956	21	22	23	16
	Change 1950-1956	3	3	3	3
2. Occupation of family head					
(a) Business and professional	1950	20	23	26	15
	1956	22	22	28	21
	Change 1950-1956	2	-1	2	6
(b) Clerical and sales	1950	12	13	15	8
	1956	11	14	11	6
	Change 1950-1956	-1	1	-4	-2
(c) Skilled and semi-skilled	1950	33	33	32	34
	1956	33	33	36	31
	Change 1950-1956	0	0	4	-3
(d) Unskilled (non-farm)	1950	15	17	12	14
	1956	14	17	10	12
	Change 1950-1956	-1	0	-2	-2
3. Family income					
(a) Under \$4000	1950	60	60	51	69
	1956	40	40	30	49
	Change 1950-1956	-20	-20	-21	-20
(b) \$4000-\$7499	1950	31	31	35	25
	1956	41	43	44	38
	Change 1950-1956	10	12	9	13
(c) \$7500 or more	1950	9	9	14	6
	1956	19	17	26	13
	Change 1950-1956	10	8	12	7
4. Family liquid assets					
(a) Under \$1000	1950	62	62	56	66
	1956	64	66	59	64
	Change 1950-1956	2	4	3	-2
(b) \$1000-\$4999	1950	27	27	31	25
	1956	26	25	27	26
	Change 1950-1956	-1	-2	-4	1
(c) \$5000 or more	1950	11	11	13	9
	1956	10	9	14	10
	Change 1950-1956	-1	-2	1	1
5. Monthly rent or value of non-farm dwelling unit					
(a) Monthly rent under \$100 or value under \$10,000	1950	79	82	69	87
	1956	62	70	48	65
	Change 1950-1956	-17	-12	-21	-22
(b) Monthly rent \$100-\$199 or value \$10,000-\$19,999	1950	18	17	26	11
	1956	30	25	38	29
	Change 1950-1956	12	8	12	18

TABLE 3.—Continued

Characteristic		Entire Metropoli- tan Com- munity	Central Residen- tial Area	Suburban Residen- tial Belt	Adjacent Residen- tial Belt
		Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
(c) Monthly rent \$200 or more or value \$20,000 or more	1950	3	1	5	2
	1956	8	5	14	6
	Change 1950-1956	5	4	9	4
6. Three or more children under 18 years in the family	1950	13	11	13	18
	1956	16	14	19	17
	Change 1950-1956	3	3	6	-1
7. Head of family under 45 years	1950	50	50	51	47
	1956	49	51	54	43
	Change 1950-1956	-1	1	3	-4
8. Head of family under 45 years, married, and with one or more chil- dren under 18 years in the family (Early Family Life Cycle)	1950	33	30	37	33
	1956	36	32	42	34
	Change 1950-1956	3	2	5	1

All of the residential belts exhibit the national trend toward increased years of education for family heads, reduction in the number of low income families, and higher housing costs. Despite the large increase in family dollar income, liquid assets show little evidence of noticeable increases between 1950 and 1956.<sup>17</sup>

Several other changes appear. For example, the suburban residential belt shows a drop in percentage differentials with respect to the other two belts on the middle socioeconomic categories. By 1956 the percentages (within the three belts) of heads of families with one to four years of high school, and of families with annual incomes of 4000-7499 dollars or with 1000-4999 dollars in liquid assets, are about the same.

The percentage of family heads with skilled or semi-skilled occupations increased most rapidly from 1950 to 1956 in the suburban belt. There was little or no change in the percentage of family heads with clerical or sales occupations in the central city, but a small decline in the suburban belt. This enabled the central city clerical and sales

percentage to be higher than the equivalent suburban percentage by 1956, whereas the opposite situation existed in 1950. Although these occupational changes are small, the rank patterns they form are replicated, as shown above in Table 2.

There has been an increased concentration of high income families and of more expensive housing in the suburban belt. The percentages of families with annual incomes of 7500 dollars or more and of families paying a monthly rent of 200 dollars or more or living in a (non-farm) dwelling unit valued at 20,000 dollars or more increased by greater amounts in the suburban belt than in either of the other two belts. These suburban increases apparently were not accompanied by proportionate suburban increases in family heads with business and professional occupations or one or more years of college.

Another trend is the elimination of much of the difference between the central city and adjacent area residential belts in the percentages of business and professional occupations—as a result of an increase in this occupational category in the adjacent area belt. Also, housing costs rose more rapidly in the adjacent area belt than in the central city between 1950 and 1956. The result is that by 1956 the central city had the greatest percentage of low- and smallest percentage

<sup>17</sup> Total family liquid assets are composed of United States Government bonds, savings accounts, postal savings, credit union accounts, building and loan association accounts, checking accounts, and United States Service Terminal Leave Bonds.



of middle-cost housing. In 1950 the adjacent area belt occupied this position.

By 1956 the suburban belt conforms to the popular picture as the area with the greatest concentration of large families and families with young heads. Such families are by no means absent in the other two belts: the suburban belt has only a slightly greater concentration of them. The tendency of young family heads to move to the larger urban places is underscored by the drop in percentage of family heads under 45 years in the adjacent area belt.

It would seem that national trends since 1950 have resulted in a steady reduction in the percentage of families with low status characteristics and a steady increase in families with middle and high status characteristics. The central city and adjacent area belts appear to have acquired proportionately greater percentages of the middle socio-economic families than has the suburban belt while the latter exhibited greater percentage gains in higher income families and more expensive housing. These suburban gains appear to indicate an increased suburban concentration of those families who can afford its higher living costs. This concentration appears to be more a function of economic means than of education and occupation.

Only part of the hypothesis that the central city residential area is becoming increasingly occupied by poor families is borne out. It seems that in both the central city and the adjacent area belts there reside more and more families exhibiting middle socio-economic characteristics, while at the same time a general reduction in the number of poor families (as measured here) is taking place. It might be expected that many of the central and adjacent belt middle-class families are not as well off economically as the "equivalent" suburban families. Unfortunately, the data do not shed any light upon this matter.

Again, the hypothesis that the suburban belt—in comparison with the other two areas—is becoming increasingly inhabited by families with middle-class traits (as classified in Table 3), by more families with three or more children, and by younger family heads is partially upheld. The suburban belt does appear to be more and more the home of the large family, the family with a relatively

young head, and the family in the "early family life cycle" stage.

The suburban belt, however, has not become more exclusively a residential center for middle-class families (as measured here). Instead, the suburban percentages of families exhibiting middle-class characteristics have become similar in magnitude to the percentages of such families in the other two belts.

The family traits in the central city and adjacent area belts have become more alike with the decrease in the number of poor families available for concentration in these two belts. Central city housing (as measured by dollar cost of shelter) appears to be the most obsolete housing of the three belts, which of course accords with expectations.

#### IMPLICATIONS

As early as 1899, Adna Weber called attention to the processes of depopulation of the inner core of the central city.<sup>18</sup> More recent research has presented the details of the continuing trends of deconcentration and rapid suburban growth.<sup>19</sup>

The data presented in this paper indicate a continuation of the major characteristics that feature the residential growth of the outer rim of the metropolitan center. These data emphasize that upper income families increased their suburban concentration between 1950 and 1956, as did the more expensive, newer housing. Furthermore, the interaction between housing demand, supply, and techniques of mass production has facilitated the suburban migration of large numbers of fairly well paid industrial workers.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Adna Weber, *The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1899.

<sup>19</sup> Among the best examples of such research are: Hawley, *The Changing Shape of Metropolitan America*, op. cit.; Leo F. Schnore, "Metropolitan Growth and Decentralization," *American Journal of Sociology*, 63 (September, 1957), pp. 171-180; Schnore, *Patterns of Decentralization: A Study of Differential Growth in the Metropolitan Areas of the United States, 1900-1950*, Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Michigan, 1954; and Donald J. Bogue, "Urbanism in the United States, 1950," *American Journal of Sociology*, 60 (March, 1955), pp. 471-486.

<sup>20</sup> The influence of housing supply upon suburban growth is described in Leo F. Schnore, "The Growth of Metropolitan Suburbs," *American Sociological Review*, 22 (April, 1957), pp. 165-173.

This is shown by the increased suburban concentration of skilled and semi-skilled workers. As a result of these trends, the suburban belt stands above the surrounding belts as the residential area of the financially more successful families.

The lack of substantial between-belt differences in high school education and family incomes of 4000 to 7499 dollars reflects the spread of more years of schooling and better incomes throughout much of our society. More sensitive measures should be employed in future research to differentiate suburban middle-class families from middle-class families who reside in the central city or the adjacent area belt.

The idea that the suburbs function as the major metropolitan location for child-rearing and socialization (suggested, for example, in studies by Fava, Martin, and Jaco and Belknap<sup>21</sup>) has been given additional support by the data showing a growing suburban concentration of families with three or more children and with family heads under 45 years.<sup>22</sup> Another good measure of family type, the early family life cycle, also indicates an increasing suburban concentration of families with young children.

Nevertheless, the degree of differentiation between residential belts is not as great as might be expected. None of the measured characteristics is exclusively or overwhelmingly concentrated in one or two belts. Clearly, the operational techniques used to establish the arbitrary belt boundaries mark off rather large heterogeneous areas. That such heterogeneity is also characteristic of residential belts (apart from being a result of the operational measures used here) has

been shown by Kish in "Differentiation in Metropolitan Areas."<sup>23</sup>

Search for a series of concentric belts large in area and containing fairly homogeneous families should prove futile. Instead, one would expect to continue to find family characteristics gradually changing from the central business district to the adjacent belt with little sudden variation. An interesting subject for speculation and future study is the effect on such gradual changes in family characteristics (as one proceeds outward from the central business district) of the decentralization of industry and services or of urban redevelopment. Will the decentralization of the functions of the metropolitan community produce suburban industrial and business districts surrounded by the same type of residential patterns that emerged earlier around the central business district? Will decentralization coupled with urban redevelopment stem the outward tide from the central city of the economically well-off families? A related problem for future research is the comparison of functional interrelations and daily population flow between industrial-commercial suburbs (frequently called satellites), residential suburbs, and the central city.

Another suburban trend is a growth in occupational heterogeneity. The high income families living in the suburban belt are being joined by an increasing number of families of skilled and semi-skilled workers (who live in low and moderate cost subdivisions). Between 1950 and 1956 there does not appear to have developed greater suburban concentration of college educated or business and professional family heads. The trend toward occupational heterogeneity is also a result of the rapidly growing metropolitan population overflowing the arbitrary and rigid central city boundaries into the surrounding suburbs. Such growth extends the inner urban core in to the outer urban shell so that the central city-suburban division becomes less useful. This distinction may be supplanted, at least for certain purposes, by the three-way division of central city, inner suburbs, and outer suburbs.

<sup>21</sup> Sylvia Fava, "Suburbanism As a Way of Life," *American Sociological Review*, 21 (February, 1956), pp. 34-37; Walter T. Martin, "Social Relationships Engendered by Suburban Residence," *American Sociological Review*, 21 (August, 1956), pp. 446-453; E. Gartly Jaco and Ivan Belknap, "Is a New Family Form Emerging in the Urban Fringe?" *American Sociological Review*, 18 (October, 1953), pp. 551-557.

<sup>22</sup> A recent collection of papers on the suburb, which includes several of the articles referred to in this final section, is William M. Dobriner, editor, *The Suburban Community*, New York: Putnam, 1958.

<sup>23</sup> Kish, *op. cit.*

## RESEARCH REPORTS AND NOTES

### A CROSS-CULTURAL REPLICATION OF THE RELATION OF URBANISM TO CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR \*

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This research is the second replication of a study involving an inter-related set of hypotheses on the relation between criminality and urbanism. The original study, by the present author, was made during the early 1940s, using an Iowa sample. The first replication was conducted by Eastman in the same state about ten years later, and the research reported here was carried out in Sweden. The first replication was in time; this study reports a situation in another culture.<sup>1</sup>

The need for such replication studies, especially in different cultural settings, is one of the more pressing needs in the behavioral sciences, particularly in sociology and criminology.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, if the sociological study of crime is to be scientific, general data, hypotheses, and findings should not be derived from only one particular series of historical events taking place in one society, which is often the case especially in American criminology. In fact, each nation is apt to have its own "national criminology."

The need for more comparative criminological

findings is evident. The general hypothetical proposition used in science has the following logical form: if condition(s) "A" occurs, then event "X" results, a statement often made in probability terms. If a proposition is tested in only one culture, or sub-culture of a society, one can never be sure whether "A" actually describes the conditions under which "X" does occur. Other unobserved factors may in fact be sufficient, while "A" is only necessary. In other words, errors and omissions of perception induced by cultural "blind spots" must be taken into account. While the general hypothesis may be stated in universal terms, the testing or application of it to any one culture, or society, often may require modification to meet the exigencies of the particular situation. In making a replication in another culture, where one is attempting to vary one factor and keep the others constant, this may not be possible.

The central theoretical frame of reference of all of the studies cited above focuses upon the relation of crime to the degree of urbanism. As contrasted with urbanization, urbanism refers to a set of characteristics and social relationships including impersonality, extensive mobility, and differential association.<sup>3</sup> Degrees of urbanism are of necessity associated with the size of the community. Three types of residence denote increasing amounts of urbanism: slight (farm), moderate (village), and extensive (city). Each offender was placed in one of these types according to his major residence, that is, the type of residence in which he lived the major proportion of his life between the ages of six and 21. The basic theoretical assumption of these studies is that offenders from rural areas and small towns exhibit a system of behavior more characteristic of urban persons. A corollary of this assumption is that the changing nature of rural and village life is reflected in the life patterns of farm and small town criminal offenders.

Some relevant findings of both the original and first replication study include the following: (1) Both studies show a progressive rate of increase of property crimes in Iowa when measured by residence types denoting relative degree of

\* Paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society [Association], August, 1958.

<sup>1</sup> Marshall B. Clinard, "The Process of Urbanization and Criminal Behavior," *American Journal of Sociology*, 48 (September, 1942), pp. 202-213, and "Rural Criminal Offenders," *American Journal of Sociology*, 50 (July, 1944), pp. 38-45; Harold D. Eastman, "The Process of Urbanization and Criminal Behavior: A Restudy of Culture Conflict," unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Iowa, 1954.

The research reported here was carried out under a Fulbright research award during 1954 and 1955. The author acknowledges his indebtedness to the American Philosophical Society for funds with which to employ a Swedish research assistant and to the Research Committee of the University of Wisconsin for assistance in analyzing the data. More specific acknowledgements go to Greta-Lisa Magnusson and Leon Fannin, who helped with the study.

<sup>2</sup> See Arnold M. Rose, *Theory and Method in the Social Sciences*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954, pp. 262-272; and Raymond W. Mack, "The Need for Replication Research in Sociology," *American Sociological Review*, 16 (February, 1951), pp. 93-94.

<sup>3</sup> See Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," *American Journal of Sociology*, 44 (July, 1938), pp. 1-24; and Marshall B. Clinard, *Sociology of Deviant Behavior*, New York: Rinehart, 1957, pp. 54-91.

urbanism, the rates varying proportionately to the degree of urbanism. (2) Both studies indicate that Iowa rural offenders were more mobile, not as well integrated in their home communities, and more impersonal in their attitudes toward others than non-offenders. (3) In the original study, in contrast to the first replication, rural offenders more often committed their offenses outside of their home communities in a situation of anonymity. (4) Both studies show that differential association with criminal norms, particularly those of delinquent gangs, was not as important in the development of rural and village offenders as among more urban offenders. Contrary to the original study, such groups played a more significant role, however, among rural offenders than among village offenders; Eastman believed this to be a reflection of increased urbanism in rural areas. (5) Both studies indicate a pronounced difference between offenders from areas of varying degrees of urbanism in the age at which they began criminal activities and in progression in crime. The original study reports, however, that offenders from urban areas exhibited the characteristics of a criminal social type, a finding which was not supported by the first replication.

#### RATIONALE AND METHODS OF THE STUDY IN SWEDEN

Sweden was chosen as the country for the second replication because it is almost as urbanized and industrialized as the United States, but at the same time its population is far more homogeneous in terms of race, culture, and religion. In addition, it has not been at war for almost 150 years, nor has it experienced quite the same series of crises and social change as other Western societies. These conditions were believed to furnish a strategic re-testing ground for findings derived primarily in the more socially heterogeneous American society.

It has been asserted, usually by European and particularly Scandinavian criminologists, that the extensiveness of culture conflict in the United States and the instability induced by waves of immigrants from diverse ethnic backgrounds have produced biased findings in American criminology.<sup>4</sup> Most European criminologists studying societies less affected by cultural conflict and immigration have stressed individual constitutional and personality traits as playing the most significant role in the etiology of crime.<sup>5</sup> Empirical findings and theoretical orien-

tations as profoundly different as these call for re-testing of hypotheses if criminology is to progress and claim universal validity for its conclusions.

The replication in Sweden followed closely the procedures of the earlier investigations. The questionnaire used in Eastman's study, which had been adapted from the original, was translated into Swedish. Colloquial terms, particularly those used by Swedish offenders, often had to be introduced. For example, equivalent words had to be found for "gang," which has a different connotation in Swedish, and "arrests," which are generally handled by a special youth board and not by the police or the courts. Moreover, the format had to be changed somewhat to meet such conditions as the fact that Swedes are more familiar with underlining than checking answers to questions. Further changes were made after the questionnaire was pre-tested on a group of Swedish offenders of varying degrees of intelligence and education. The final questionnaire contained several open-ended questions and required from one to two hours to complete. Considerable effort was made to gain the confidence of the inmates selected, and their replies revealed an attitude of cooperation.

As in the Iowa studies, the Swedish sample was restricted to property offenders between the ages of 17 and 29. Sweden has 52 penal institutions, usually small and of various types. Although scattered throughout the country, they are concentrated primarily in the southern, more populous area. The individual members of the sample were chosen from nine prisons, and were selected for geographical representativeness. Offenders from the two largest Swedish cities, however, were excluded in order to obtain a sample composition similar to the Iowa population. The Swedish cases total 101, nine from areas of slight, 18 from areas of moderate, and 74 from areas of extensive urbanization. This figure represents 92 per cent of those originally included in the total sample interviewed. There is no significant difference in the size of the samples in the three studies.

#### FINDINGS

*Hypothesis 1: The greater the degree of urbanism in a community, the greater the rate of property offenses, other factors held constant, including general culture.* This hypothesis was confirmed in Sweden, as it had been in the two previous Iowa studies. Therefore, the relation

<sup>4</sup> See, e.g., Olof Kinberg, *Basic Problems of Criminology*, Copenhagen: Levin and Munksgaard, 1935.

<sup>5</sup> See, e.g., Stephan Hurwitz, *Criminology*, London: Allen and Unwin, 1952; and Kinberg,

*op. cit.* Not all European criminologists take this position. For an exception, see Herman Mannheim, *Group Problems in Crime and Punishment*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1955.



between the incidence of property crime and urbanization, as an observed regularity, was established.

The other four hypotheses involve primarily comparisons between the findings of the first replication and the Swedish study because the former investigation was conducted more recently, although some comparisons were also made with the original study. Where significant differences are indicated they refer to Chi squares at the five per cent level or better. Where comparisons were made with the urban category, and the number of cases was insufficient, the farm and village groups were sometimes combined.

*Hypothesis 2: The rural criminal is likely to be characterized by having considerable contacts of an impersonal nature, that is, extensive contacts outside his home community, high horizontal mobility; and a conception of himself as not attached to a community.* The high mobility and detachment from community norms of criminal offenders, as predicted by the second hypothesis, was confirmed by both the two Iowa and Swedish studies.

In general, the Swedish offenders were even more mobile than their Iowa counterparts. Mobility was significantly greater when measured by the following indices: (1) number of communities in which the offender had lived since six years of age and prior to first property arrest ( $P < .001$ ), 56.6 per cent of the Swedish farm offenders and 72.2 per cent of the village offenders having lived in more than one community as compared with 25.9 and 43.8 per cent, respectively, of the Iowans; (2) the average number of years the offender lived in one community since the age of six and before first property arrest ( $.01 > P > .001$ ); (3) the same factor, but including the time after arrest; (4) most years spent in one community before first property arrest ( $P < .001$ ); (5) the same factor, but including the time after arrest; (6) place of offender's birth and place of major residence; (7) comparison of offender's last residence and that of his parents; (8) stability of the offender's family as measured by length of residence in place of offender's birth.

A control group was also used in testing this hypothesis in the two Iowa studies, but lack of time precluded this procedure in Sweden, thereby reducing the reliability of the findings for the Swedish sample. However, if it can be assumed for purposes of testing the hypothesis that the criminal offenders in the Swedish sample were as mobile as the Iowans, the comparative analysis is profitable. In addition, the internal analysis of the mobility of the farm and village residence types in the Swedish sample, viewed as a contin-

uum, was useful in supporting or rejecting this hypothesis.

*Hypothesis 3: Since urbanism is characterized by impersonal behavior, crimes are generally committed in the impersonal areas of a criminal offender's life. Therefore, in rural areas the place of occurrence of crimes is usually not the same as the residence of the offender. The offender is not incorporated into the community where the crime occurs.* Rural as well as village offenders attempt to gain the anonymity of the large city by committing their first, and other, offenses outside of the communities in which they were living, but city offenders do not need to leave their communities which already contain the necessary refuge of anonymity.

The original study found that rural and village offenders generally committed their first and last offenses outside the communities in which they lived. The opposite findings of both replication studies reject this hypothesis. Almost three-fourths of the Swedish sample committed their first offenses, and two-thirds their last offenses, in their home communities. Of the three groups (farm, village, and city), the village offenders were most likely to commit the first offense in another community (44.4 per cent having done so).

*Hypothesis 4: This hypothesis relates the direct learning of criminal norms and values to the relative degree of urbanism of the communities in which offenders were reared. Thus: As urbanism is characterized by cultural heterogeneity, criminal offenders tend to build up and pass on a cultural organization outside the traditional norms. As urbanism increases, networks of criminal relationships increase. Therefore, in rural areas there is a comparative absence of continuity in the criminal culture as compared with the interstitial areas of a more heterogeneous urban culture. Most rural offenders are of the individual rather than the group type; their differential association has been of an occasional or fortuitous character.*

All three studies support this general hypothesis. The significance of membership in a group of boys who stole, for example, was confirmed by both of the replication studies. Almost two-thirds of both the Iowan (63.9 per cent) and the Swedish (61.4 per cent) criminal offenders belonged at one time to such groups. The similarity of these findings is striking. The claim that participation in delinquent groups is rather unique to American society is rejected, as there is no significant difference in such membership between the two samples ( $.5 > P > .3$ ). This is an important finding especially because contemporary Swedish criminological literature does not stress this factor, empha-

sizing instead individual constitutional or psychological factors.

The predicted *progressive* increase in membership in criminal groups from the most rural to the most urban categories, which was found in the original study, is rejected by both replication studies. Eastman's farm offenders more frequently were members of such groups than his villagers (63 per cent compared to 50 per cent). While the percentages for the Swedish sample increase from 55.5 per cent in the farm category to 61.1 per cent in the town and 62.2 per cent in the city, these differences are not significant ( $.3 > P > .2$ ).

When the age at which the offenders first joined delinquent groups is analyzed, the results predicted in the original study are again observed. For both samples there is a progressive increase from farm to village to city in the percentage of boys joining a delinquent group at an early age.

A clear-cut difference between the farm and city categories, with the villagers in an intermediate position, in the number of delinquent associates of the offenders at the time of first property arrest was found in all three studies. The number of such associates increases with the degree of urbanism.

The Swedish city category, as in both of the earlier studies, was significantly younger than either the farm or village categories when this fourth hypothesis was tested by (1) age at first arrest for any type of offense, (2) age at first property arrest, (3) age at first commitment for any offense, and (4) age at first commitment for a property offense. In the Swedish sample, moreover, farm, village, and urban offenders were each significantly younger than the Iowans ( $P > .001$ ).

There is no significant difference ( $.7 > P > .5$ ) between the two studies in the extent to which the associates of offenders from communities of varying degrees of urbanism had an offense record at the time of the first property arrest. Similar results were obtained when the age of the offenders' associates was analyzed ( $.5 > P > .3$ ).

Although both of the earlier studies conclude that the learning of deviant norms from family members plays no important role in the offenders' lives, this factor seems to take on more significance in Sweden. For approximately one-third of the Swedish farm offenders, 22.3 per cent of the villagers, and 19.7 per cent of the city dwellers, at least one member of the family had been arrested. The figures for members of offenders' families who had been incarcerated were almost identical.

*Hypothesis 5:* This hypothesis relates the

characteristics of urban communities to the development of a definite criminal social type, or "ordinary criminal career."<sup>6</sup> *The criminal culture of the heterogeneous urban community produces a criminal social type, characterized by criminal techniques, criminal argot, and a definite progressive criminal life history. Therefore, offenders from areas of slight or moderate urbanism, in contrast to offenders from areas of extensive urbanism, are not frequently definite criminal social types prior to prison experience. This is shown by the absence of characteristic features of a criminal social type. The rural offender does not conceive of himself as a criminal; the more urbanized offender does.*

The concept of a criminal social type assumes that an individual so characterized will have had an early start in his criminal career, have been sentenced at an early age, will have experienced many arrests and incarcerations, and will have progressed in seriousness of offense.

Data from the original study and the two replications support the general hypothesis. Neither replication, however, found as clear-cut a criminal social type in the cities as had the original study. The Swedish investigation, like the earlier ones, found a progressive increase in age from farm to village to city at the time of (1) first arrest, (2) first property arrest, (3) first commitment, and (4) first property commitment.

Another criterion used to measure criminal social type is progression through time from simple to complex offenses. Offenses were ranked in the following order of increasing seriousness: larceny, forgery, auto theft, burglary, and robbery. While the original study found that many offenders "progressed," the first replication reported relatively few such cases of city offenders. Approximately the same situation obtained for the Swedish replication. When progression is measured by the commission of more serious crimes than formerly while a member of a delinquent group, proportionately more such offenders were found in the two most urbanized groups.

#### SUMMARY

The original study and the two replications show few significant differences, as measured by Chi-squares, on three hypotheses relating to the incidence of offenses, mobility, and differential association. For the two hypotheses concerning

<sup>6</sup> Clinard, *Sociology of Deviant Behavior*, pp. 200-209 and 244-246. For additional analysis and description of this type of criminal career, see Walter Reckless, *The Crime Problem*, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1955, Chapter 18.

place of offense and social type there are differences between the original study and the replications. The two replications, on the other hand, report few differences and general agreement on all five hypotheses.

Methodological difficulties are encountered in replicating a study in another culture. This investigation indicates, however, that cross-cultural replications are not only necessary but feasible.

#### RURALITY, ITEM BIAS, AND THE APPLICATION OF SCIENTIFIC METHODOLOGY TO HUMAN BEHAVIOR \*

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Sociologists are well aware that questionnaire responses are a function of more than the particular value, attitudinal, or behavioral systems being investigated. It is a truism that the wording of an item may have a marked effect on the responses obtained. It is also very likely that alterations in the wording of questionnaire items produce considerably different responses among persons having differential educational or socio-economic backgrounds, or among respondents from various sized communities.<sup>1</sup>

These observations are discussed in practically every social research methods textbook. However, it is not always easy to predict bias in wording of questionnaire items. Data are presented in this paper which show considerably different response patterns for slight variations in two questionnaire items. Differential responses associated with rural-urban residence areas were also studied.

#### METHODS

The two items used in the present study were taken from the Purdue Opinion Poll.<sup>2</sup> One item

\* This report is listed as Journal Paper No. 3623 of the Iowa Agricultural and Home Economics Experiment Station, Ames, Iowa, Project 1370. Acknowledgement is due H. H. Remmers, Director of the Purdue Opinion Panel, for permission to use the statements reported in this paper. See Poll No. 50, Purdue Opinion Poll, Division of Educational Preference, Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana.

<sup>1</sup> See Leonard Schatzman and Anselm Strauss, "Social Class and Modes of Communication," *American Journal of Sociology*, 60 (January, 1955), pp. 329-338; and Herbert H. Hyman *et al.*, *Interviewing in Social Research*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954.

<sup>2</sup> H. H. Remmers, "High School Students Look

reads: "Although science may be able to understand and control some things in the physical world, it can never hope to understand and control human action." This item seemed to be sufficiently clear, but the writer was concerned with differential interpretations of the word "control." While sociologists may not imply manipulation of people or impairment of human freedom these connotations may be present in the minds of some persons who react to the word as used in the item. In order to test whether the inclusion of "control" had any effect on the response pattern to this item, one half of the questionnaires included in the present study contained the item as stated in the Purdue poll, and the other half included a form of the item in which "and control" was deleted from both phrases of the sentence.

The second item used in the Purdue poll which was repeated in the present study reads: "Since man has a soul, it is immoral to study him by scientific methods." The double-barrelled nature of this item makes it difficult to interpret expressions of agreement or disagreement. To test its double-barrelled effect, the item was revised and included in half the questionnaires in the following form: "It is immoral to study man by scientific methods." Each form was alternated among the questionnaires to insure randomization within sex groups.

All of the students in the tenth and twelfth grades in a predominantly rural Iowa county and a sample of students in similar grades in an Iowa city of over 200,000 persons responded to these items. Data are presented in Tables 1 and 2 for students from three strata of population: farm; county nonfarm, including rural nonfarm and students in a town between 2,500 and 5,000 population; and large city.

#### RESULTS

For the "understanding and control" item, the effect of "control" on the response pattern of boys and girls is very clear. Approximately half of the boys and girls disagreed with the original form of the item. When "control" was deleted, approximately 80 per cent of the boys and 74 per cent of the girls disagreed with the item. Replication of the response pattern for total groups of boys and girls to each form of the item was found in each of the residence areas.

A rural-urban difference in response patterns is also evident for each form of the item. Farm boys were least likely to disagree with either form of the item, county nonfarm boys were

at Science," Poll No. 50, The Purdue Opinion Panel, Division of Educational Reference, Purdue University, 17, No. 1, November, 1957.

TABLE 1. PERCENTAGES OF RESPONSES BY SEX AND RESIDENCE AREAS TO TWO FORMS OF AN ITEM RELATED TO USE OF THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD FOR UNDERSTANDING AND CONTROLLING HUMAN ACTION

	Farm		Nonfarm County		City		Total	
	Under-stand and Control	Under-stand	Under-stand and Control	Under-stand	Under-stand and Control	Under-stand	Under-stand and Control	Under-stand
Boys								
Agree	n=52 73.0	n=56 32.1	n=54 64.8	n=46 21.7	n=46 15.2	n=49 6.1	n=152 52.7	n=151 20.5
Disagree	27.0	67.9	35.2	78.3	84.8	93.9	47.3	79.5
	$\chi^2=16.494$ ; $P<.01$		$\chi^2=16.923$ ; $P<.01$		$\chi^2=1.230$ ; $.20<P<.30$		$\chi^2=34.647$ ; $P<.001$	
Girls								
Agree	n=41 58.6	n=41 36.6	n=52 65.3	n=54 37.0	n=60 30.0	n=61 9.9	n=154 50.0	n=156 26.3
Disagree	41.4	63.4	34.7	63.0	70.0	90.1	50.0	73.7
	$\chi^2=3.129$ ; $.05<P<.10$		$\chi^2=7.421$ ; $P<.01$		$\chi^2=6.518$ ; $P<.02$		$\chi^2=17.068$ ; $P<.01$	

intermediate, and the boys from the city overwhelmingly disagreed with the item. Girls from the city sample rejected both forms of the item much more frequently than farm or county nonfarm girls. In contrast to the large city girls, percentages expressing disagreement with either form of the item were approximately the same.

These rural-urban differences are consistent with differences which are generally predicted from social theory. Rural areas are generally considered to be more conservative than urban areas in accepting changes in their *Weltanschauung*. Stouffer, for example, found farmers to be much more conservative and to demand greater conformity than urban persons on questions of conformity and civil liberties.<sup>3</sup> Analyses of public-opinion poll data also indicate a slightly more conservative orientation among farmers regarding the economic role of government, position of labor, and specific questions regarding prohibition and outlawing the Communist party.<sup>4</sup> However, Haer failed to find any relationship between scores on a conservatism-radicalism scale and rurality as measured by size of community or residence.<sup>5</sup> Burchinal found only one significant difference among 23 personality test comparisons for three samples of farm or rural and urban children.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Samuel A. Stouffer, *Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties*, New York: Doubleday, 1955.

<sup>4</sup> Howard W. Beers, "Rural-Urban Differences: Some Evidence from Public Opinion Polls," *Rural Sociology*, 18 (March, 1953), pp. 1-11.

<sup>5</sup> John L. Haer, "Conservatism-Radicalism and the Rural-Urban Continuum," *Rural Sociology*, 17 (December, 1952), pp. 343-347.

The results of the item dealing with the immorality of the application of scientific method to the study of man are shown in Table 2. For the six sex and residence cells, percentages of disagreement were higher when the phrase "since man has a soul" was deleted from the item. Differences in responses among farm boys and girls and among county nonfarm girls were slight and not statistically significant. Large and significant differences were found among the responses of the males and females in the city sample. Differences in the total cells reflect the consistent differences observed within each residence stratum and are highly significant.

With only one exception, differences among responses of boys and girls in the three residence cells to each form of the second item fail to conform to the expected rural-urban difference pattern. Farm boys were strongest in disagreement of the "soul" form of the item, followed by county nonfarm boys, and finally city boys. On the revised form of the item, farm and county nonfarm boys disagreed to about the same degree, but both exceeded the degree of disagreement found for the city boys. The girls also showed a reversal from the expected direction for the form of the item containing the "soul" reference. County nonfarm girls disagreed most, and city girls least. Only one of four patterns for the two forms of the item was consistent with the expected direction of difference. Farm girls disagreed least frequently

<sup>6</sup> Lee G. Burchinal, "Adjustment Characteristics of Rural and Urban Children," *American Sociological Review*, 22 (February, 1957), pp. 81-87.



TABLE 2. PERCENTAGES OF RESPONSES BY SEX AND RESIDENCE AREAS TO TWO FORMS OF AN ITEM ABOUT THE IMMORALITY OF STUDYING MAN BY SCIENTIFIC METHOD

	Farm		Nonfarm County		City		Total	
	Soul	Immoral	Soul	Immoral	Soul	Immoral	Soul	Immoral
Boys								
	n=52	n=56	n=53	n=46	n=47	n=49	n=152	n=151
Agree	28.9	14.3	35.8	13.0	46.8	22.4	36.8	16.5
Disagree	71.1	85.7	64.2	87.0	53.2	78.6	63.2	83.5
	$\chi^2=2.597; .10 < P < .20$		$\chi^2=5.631; P < .02$		$\chi^2=5.277; P < .05$		$\chi^2=13.505; P < .01$	
Girls								
	n=41	n=40	n=52	n=54	n=61	n=61	n=154	n=155
Agree	29.3	27.5	23.1	22.2	52.4	13.1	36.3	20.0
Disagree	70.7	72.5	76.9	77.8	47.6	86.9	63.7	80.0
	$\chi^2=.004; .90 < P < .95$		$\chi^2=.016; .80 < P < .90$		$\chi^2=19.676; P < .001$		$\chi^2=19.696; P < .01$	

and city girls most frequently with the form of the item omitting the "soul" reference.

#### DISCUSSION

It is clear that the degree of agreement or disagreement with the two items concerning the application of the scientific method to the study of man is dependent on the form of the item. While this observation is hardly startling, the marked difference obtained when each item was altered slightly testifies to the need for researchers to be very certain of the meaning of every word in items presented to respondents. Researchers might also check for possible differences in responses by sub-groups of samples. In the present study, sharp differences in some comparisons marked the responses of rural and urban students.

The rural-urban comparisons present seemingly contradictory results. Approval of the application of the scientific method to the study of human behavior requires a view of man which was assumed to be more widely held among persons with urban socialization experience. Persons of rural upbringing, it was assumed, were more likely to stress the uniqueness of man, his special creation apart from other forms of life, and to be less willing to accept the premise that it is possible to study man and his behavior by the same methods used to study other natural phenomena. If these assumptions are correct, rural students should have been more likely to agree with either form of the two items than urban students. This hypothesis is tenable for each form of the "understanding and control" item.

Data on the second item fail to support the hypothesis. Comparisons of the response patterns indicate that the two items and variations in the items do not belong to the same universe

of items. No *post factum* interpretations are offered for these unexpected results, but some clarification may emerge if additional data are examined.

The students also responded to several other questions related to the applicability of scientific method to the study of human behavior. One of these questions reads: "The willingness of the scientist to reject traditional beliefs may lead to confusion and disorder." Sixty-seven per cent of the farm boys, 65.7 per cent of the county nonfarm boys, and 72.2 per cent of the city boys rejected the item ( $\chi^2=1.04, P > .05$ ). Girls gave almost identical responses: 61.8 per cent for the farm group, 65.7 per cent for the county nonfarm, and 72.9 per cent for the city ( $\chi^2=1.42, P > .05$ ).

On another item—"Since every person is different, it is impossible to establish scientific laws of human action"—a further difference consistent with assumed rural conservatism was found. Approximately 34 per cent of the farm and county nonfarm boys disagreed with this item, while 51.5 per cent of the city boys did so ( $\chi^2=9.11, P < .02$ ). Responses by the girls followed the same trend: 48 per cent of the city girls disagreed with the item, 41.9 per cent of the county nonfarm girls, and only 36.7 per cent of the farm girls ( $\chi^2=2.64, P > .05$ ).

A final item to be cited reads: "Scientific methods should be applied to human problems like segregation and poverty as well as to machines and modern conveniences." Percentages of agreement for boys were consistent with the predicted pattern of responses. Approximately 83 per cent of the city boys, 74.7 per cent of the county nonfarm boys, and 67.3 per cent of the farm boys agreed with the item ( $\chi^2=6.63, P < .05$ ). A reversal in the farm to city pattern was found for the girls on this item. About 76

per cent of the farm girls, 70.5 per cent of the county nonfarm girls, and 69.8 per cent of the city girls agreed with the item ( $\chi^2=1.11$ ,  $P>.05$ ).

Although only two of the six additional comparisons produced statistically significant results, the data from the three additional items show a fairly consistent trend. Most of the data support the hypothesis of greater rural conservatism concerning the application of scientific methods to man and his problems. Some of the percentage differences are not large, but a consistent pattern of responses was observed with the exception of the responses of girls to the last item.

The contradictory results found for the two items used in the bias tests and the lack of consistency among the results of studies cited earlier indicate the caution which must be exercised in generalizing about the current status of rural-urban differences in attitudes or value orientations. Of course, numerous conditions are reducing such differences, although some undoubtedly persist. The present data suggest that attitudes toward social science are among these.

#### AGE STATUS AND RESIDENTIAL STRATIFICATION \*

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Recent studies by Rossi, Glick, Beyer,<sup>1</sup> and others have suggested an association between the age of persons and their socio-economic status, particularly as it relates to the kinds of housing in which they live. Although Rossi found that space requirements were stressed most frequently as the reason for moving from one dwelling unit to another, he also observed that "the ages of the household members and the social needs accompanying age grades are . . . important life

cycle aspects which have housing implications."<sup>2</sup> More specifically, Glick has stated that significant changes occur not only in family composition, as it proceeds through the life cycle, but also in the social and economic status of the family.<sup>3</sup>

Apparently, the improved economic status of families in time is associated with their movement in space to neighborhoods of higher social status. The purpose of this study is to determine the association, if any, between the distribution of an urban population by age and variations in the socio-economic status of residential areas. A test was made of the null hypothesis—that there is no difference in the distribution of the population of a city by age within residential areas of varying socio-economic status levels.

#### DATA AND METHOD

The age distribution of the total population in the city was analyzed. This fact distinguishes this research somewhat from those of Rossi, Beyer,<sup>4</sup> and Glick, who studied family units only. In the design of the study reported here, it was assumed that housing is an indicator of standard of living for single as well as family household units.

The study site was Syracuse, New York, an industrial city of approximately 25 square miles, the location of more than 500 manufacturing plants and the hub city of a metropolitan area in central New York State. Populations of two different years, 1940 and 1950, were analyzed in an attempt to discover the persistence, if any, of patterns of variation by age. There were 205,967 persons in Syracuse in 1940 and 220,583 persons in 1950.

Census tracts were used as basic units of analysis. Syracuse has been divided into six socio-economic areas. A socio-economic area consists of several census tracts with populations relatively similar in occupation, education, and such characteristics as house-type and rental or market value of dwelling units.

Specifically, the components of the socio-economic status composite index are (1) average home value, (2) average monthly rental, (3) per cent of single-family dwelling units, (4) median school year completed, and (5) per cent of workmen in the combined occupational categories of operatives, service workers, and laborers. The latter component was inverted so that it would

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<sup>1</sup> Peter H. Rossi, *Why Families Move*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955; Paul C. Glick, *American Families*, New York: Wiley, 1957; and Glenn H. Beyer, *Housing: A Factual Analysis*, New York: Macmillan, 1958, p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> Rossi, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

<sup>3</sup> Glick, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

<sup>4</sup> See Beyer, *op. cit.*; and Glenn H. Beyer, Thomas W. Mackesey, and James E. Montgomery, *Houses Are for People*, Ithaca: The Cornell University Housing Research Center, 1954.

vary directly with the other four and, therefore, could be included in a composite index. The problem of an appropriate index of social stratification remains to be solved, although a combination of several components seems to be a useful index. Haer has pointed out that Warner's Index of Status Characteristics (which consists of several components similar to those used in this study) results in higher coefficients of predictability of other variables related to stratification or class more frequently than any of the components of the index used singly.<sup>5</sup> All components of the Syracuse index, except one indicating house-type, intercorrelate with each other at .80 and above, based on 1940 and 1950 census data. The correlation coefficients between per cent of single-family dwelling units and the other four components range from .59 to .70. Thus, a significant and high association exists between all variables in the socio-economic status index.

Residential areas of varying socio-economic status were delineated on the basis of an analysis of the frequency distribution of composite socio-economic status scores, building permits, real estate advertisements, topographical and social base maps, official reports, interviews with long-term residents, historical documents, Census Bureau publications, and field observations. A majority of employed persons in Area I were professional, technical, or managerial workers, had graduated from high school and college, and lived in expensive recently built homes which they owned. In Area VI, a majority of the employed were operatives, service workers, or laborers, had received no more than an elementary school education, and lived in old dilapidated multiple-family dwelling structures. Other socio-economic areas varied between these extremes in population traits and environmental characteristics. In general, Areas I to IV were above and V to VI were below the total city average in the distributions of most variables related to socio-economic status. The socio-economic organization of the city by residential areas was similar in 1940 and 1950.<sup>6</sup>

Age data were analyzed by census tracts, by socio-economic areas, and for the total city.

<sup>5</sup> John L. Haer, "Predictive Utility of Five Indices of Social Stratification," *American Sociological Review*, 22 (October, 1957), pp. 541-546.

<sup>6</sup> Charles V. Willie, "Socio-Economic Analysis of Syracuse, New York, 1940," New York State Department of Mental Hygiene, editor, *Technical Report of the Mental Health Research Unit*, Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1955, pp. 27-48; and Willie, *Socio-Economic and Ethnic Areas in Syracuse, New York, 1950*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Syracuse University, 1957.

The population for each study period was divided into 13 five-year age categories and another category including all persons 65 years of age and over. Persons in each age category were treated as a single ecological variable—as a percentage of the total population in a census tract, a socio-economic area, or the city.

Some of the 61 census tracts in Syracuse were eliminated from the study area because of the presence of special populations associated with educational institutions and public housing developments. The heavy concentration of students and residents of public housing in certain neighborhoods tended to distort their usual age distribution pattern. After making these and a few other adjustments, the final study area and population consisted of 59 census tracts with a population of 204,684 in 1940, and 55 census tracts with a population of 201,641 in 1950. Six socio-economic areas were used in the 1940 analysis, but it was necessary to consolidate these six into three areas for the 1950 analysis because of the fewer numbers of census tracts included in the study area. In 1950, Area A was a combination of I and II, B a combination of III and IV, and C a combination of V and VI.

The data were analyzed for both study periods to determine the presence or absence of statistically significant associations. Chi-squares and Pearson correlation coefficients were the principal statistical techniques used. Unless otherwise stated, the five per cent level of confidence was considered to be the limit of statistical significance.

#### FINDINGS

There was a definite association between the socio-economic status level of residential areas and the age distribution of their populations. By census tracts, median age of the population intercorrelated with socio-economic status scores at .57 in 1940 and at .44 in 1950, indicating that about one-third of the variance in socio-economic status of residential areas could be attributed to the median age of the population in 1940, and about one-fifth in 1950. In each instance, the correlation coefficient is statistically significant and there is a direct association; census tracts with populations of higher median age tend to have high socio-economic status scores.

As shown in Table 1, however, only six of the 14 age categories are significantly associated with socio-economic status. They include the categories spanning the years 15 to 29 and 35 to 54 in 1940, and 20 to 34 and 40 to 59 in 1950. For 1940, there is a negative or indirect association between the socio-economic status level of

TABLE 1. AGE STATUS INTERCORRELATED WITH SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS, BY CENSUS TRACTS, SYRACUSE, 1940 AND 1950

Age	Correlation Coefficient	
	1940	1950
0-4	-.23	-.25
5-9	-.11	.06
10-14	-.19	.14
15-19	-.39*	-.03
20-24	-.49*	-.30*
25-29	-.62*	-.69*
30-34	.18	-.70*
35-39	.63*	-.07
40-44	.81*	.61*
45-49	.55*	.73*
50-54	.30*	.65*
55-59	.18	.39*
60-64	.03	-.06
65 & over	.10	.03

\* Correlation coefficient is significant at the five per cent level of confidence.

census tracts and the proportion of persons 15 to 29 years of age living within them; for 1950, there is a negative association between socio-economic status and the proportion of persons 20 to 34 years of age. The negative associations between age and socio-economic status are similar for 1940 and 1950 in that they cover a 15-year period. However, the period of significant negative association with socio-economic status, though similar in length of time, occurs five years later for 1950 than for 1940. The pattern observed among the younger age categories of adulthood for 1940 and 1950 is the opposite of that marking the older population of working age. There is a significant but positive association between socio-economic status and the proportion of persons 35 to 54 years of age living in census tracts of the city in 1940. In 1950, the period of positive association also covers a 20-year span, but it includes persons 40 to 59 years of age. Here again is an association of similar length in time in each of the two study periods. The positive association between socio-economic status and age, however, appears five years later in 1950 than in 1940. It would seem that age is significantly associated with variations in the socio-economic status level of residential areas during the periods of reproduction and rearing of children and the principal working years. The period of significant correlation between age and socio-economic status extends slightly more than the length of a single generation, a 40-year range.

Another important finding is that the period

of significant association between age and socio-economic status was not continuous. In 1940, as well as in 1950, there was a five-year span in adulthood after the years of negative association and before the years of positive association in which socio-economic status and age show no association that is statistically significant. This holds for the categories 30 to 34 years of age in 1940, and 35 to 39 years of age in 1950. A possible explanation of this discontinuity is that it represents a period of transition in residential mobility of the population. This is the "gear shifting age" in adulthood. During this five-year span most residentially mobile persons probably moved to neighborhoods of relatively higher social status. Some may have moved at the beginning of the period, others toward its close. Thus, persons 30 to 34 years of age in 1940 and 35 to 39 years of age in 1950 lived in neighborhoods of varying socio-economic status, both high and low, depending on whether they moved at the beginning, toward the middle, or near the end of the transition period. Evidence for this supposition was found in a series of coefficients of variation computed by census tracts for populations in each of the five-year age categories. The lowest coefficients were found in the age categories 30 to 34 years in 1940 and 35 to 39 years in 1950. A coefficient of .11 for these two age categories during both of the study periods indicates that persons 30 to 34 years and 35 to 39 years in 1940 and 1950, respectively, were fairly evenly distributed throughout the city with little variation in their proportion of the total population in each census tract. This fact helps to explain the low correlation coefficient and thus the discontinuity in significance between age and socio-economic status by residential area during this unique five-year period in adulthood.

As seen in Table 2, the age distribution of the population differs by socio-economic areas. To illustrate, in 1940 the mode of the population distribution for adults was in the 40 to 44-year age category in Area I and in the 20 to 24-year age category in Area VI. In 1950, the mode advanced to the 45 to 49-year category in Area A and the 25 to 29-year age category in Area C. Hence, the largest proportion of the population by five-year age categories was in the middle-adult years in the higher socio-economic areas and in the young-adult years in the lower socio-economic areas. Chi-squares, which were computed for the total population as distributed by age among the socio-economic areas during the two study periods, indicate that the age status of the population varied with the socio-economic status level of residential areas and that the as-



sociation between these two variables is significant at the one per cent level of confidence.

To identify specific age categories in each area that contributed to the significant Chi squares, observed-expected ratios were computed. Had the total population in the study area been equally distributed throughout the city, its percentage distribution by age in each socio-economic area would have been similar to its distribution by age within the total city. Therefore, the population distribution by age in the total city is the *expected* ratio, and the actual distribution by age within each socio-economic area, the *observed*. Ratios greater than one indicate that more persons than expected populated a specific age category, while smaller ratios indicate the presence of fewer persons than expected in a specific age category of the socio-economic area. This part of the analysis was restricted to adult years within the total 40-year age range of significant association revealed earlier by the coefficients of correlation reported in Table 1.

Table 3 shows that observed-expected ratios for the adult years—ages 20 to 54 in 1940—form a series of stair-steps in appearance between the six socio-economic residential areas. The observed population is not greater than the expected among adults until age 35 in the two

higher areas, I and II, age 30 in Area III, and age 25 in Area IV; in the two lower socio-economic Areas V and VI, the observed was greater than the expected population at age 20—the beginning of adulthood. This regular stair-step pattern also describes the specific ages at which the expanded adult population in a socio-economic area tapers off to fewer than the expected up to age 55. For example, in 1940, there were fewer adults than expected after age 50 in Area III, after age 45 in Area IV, after age 40 in Area V, and after age 30 in Area VI. Table 3 indicates a similar pattern for the 1950 data, although different age categories are involved. It is not until age 40 that more adults than expected appear in the highest socio-economic area, A, age 35 in Area B, and age 20 in Area C. A decisive stair-step pattern describing the age periods at which the excessive adult population tapers off is not visible in the consolidated three areas of 1950. However, Area C—the lowest in socio-economic status—has fewer persons than expected after age 40. The over-all pattern revealed by the observed-expected ratios supports the conclusion that an association between age and socio-economic status characterizes *all* socio-economic areas.

It was noted that fewer young adults, ages 25 to 29, than expected are found in the higher

TABLE 2. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL POPULATION BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREAS, SYRACUSE, 1940 AND 1950

Age	1940							1950*			
	Socio-Economic Area							Socio-Economic Area			
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	Total	A	B	C	Total
0-4	5.65	5.06	5.88	5.84	6.01	7.06	6.13	7.32	8.89	9.31	8.96
5-9	7.02	5.77	6.70	5.91	5.97	7.55	6.48	7.55	6.66	6.88	6.86
10-14	7.83	7.24	7.57	6.88	6.97	8.68	7.52	6.07	5.20	5.60	5.50
15-19	8.45	8.42	7.84	7.73	8.36	10.34	8.66	6.23	6.02	6.12	6.09
20-24	7.24	7.81	7.61	8.73	9.00	10.10	8.84	6.89	8.06	8.40	8.14
25-29	5.35	6.34	7.27	8.71	8.45	8.78	8.11	6.40	8.14	9.38	8.65
30-34	7.46	7.67	8.37	8.39	8.02	7.14	7.88	5.93	7.55	8.30	7.81
35-39	8.58	7.91	8.48	7.70	7.45	6.19	7.42	6.69	7.30	7.17	7.18
40-44	10.07	8.57	8.57	7.62	7.02	6.13	7.38	7.72	7.10	6.44	6.80
45-49	9.19	8.24	8.06	7.39	7.21	6.98	7.47	8.02	6.80	5.83	6.39
50-54	7.07	7.80	6.48	6.41	6.67	6.23	6.59	7.97	6.88	6.03	6.52
55-59	4.94	5.93	5.04	5.41	5.41	4.64	5.19	7.24	6.21	5.82	6.09
60-64	4.00	4.56	4.08	4.42	4.61	3.71	4.25	5.64	5.00	5.04	5.08
65-69	2.91	3.85	3.18	3.66	3.66	2.96	3.40	4.14	3.94	4.00	3.99
70-74	1.95	2.34	2.26	2.46	2.61	1.87	2.31	2.87	2.84	2.77	2.80
75 and over	2.29	2.49	2.61	2.74	2.58	1.64	2.37	3.32	3.41	2.91	3.14
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

\*For 1950, Area A includes socio-economic Areas I and II minus tracts 36, 44, and 56, which were eliminated because of the presence of public housing and student populations not tabulated as residents of these tracts in 1940; Area B includes socio-economic Areas III and IV minus tract 43, eliminated because of its student population; Area C includes socio-economic Areas V and VI.

TABLE 3. OBSERVED-EXPECTED RATIO OF POPULATION BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREAS, SYRACUSE, 1940 AND 1950 \*

Age	1940						1950**		
	Socio-Economic Area						Socio-Economic Area		
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	A	B	C
0-4	.92	.83	.96	.95	.98	1.15	.82	.99	1.04
5-9	1.08	.89	1.03	.91	.92	1.16	1.10	.97	1.00
10-14	1.04	.96	1.01	.91	.93	1.15	1.10	.95	1.02
15-19	.98	.97	.91	.89	.96	1.19	1.02	.99	1.00
20-24	.82	.88	.86	.99	1.02	1.14	.85	.99	1.03
25-29	.66	.78	.90	1.07	1.04	1.08	.74	.94	1.08
30-34	.95	.97	1.06	1.06	1.02	.91	.76	.97	1.06
35-39	1.16	1.07	1.14	1.04	1.00	.83	.93	1.02	1.00
40-44	1.36	1.16	1.16	1.03	.95	.83	1.14	1.04	.95
45-49	1.23	1.10	1.08	.99	.96	.93	1.26	1.06	.91
50-54	1.07	1.18	.98	.97	1.01	.94	1.22	1.06	.92
55-59	.95	1.14	.97	1.04	1.04	.89	1.19	1.02	.96
60-64	.94	1.07	.96	1.04	1.08	.87	1.11	.98	.99
65-69	.86	1.13	.94	1.08	1.08	.87	1.04	.99	1.00
70-74	.83	1.01	.98	1.06	1.13	.81	1.02	1.01	.99
75 and over	.97	1.05	1.10	1.16	1.09	.69	1.06	1.09	.93

Note: Horizontal lines enclose adult age categories significantly associated with socio-economic status, according to a census tract correlational analysis, and with an excessive number of persons.

\* The percentage distribution of the total city population is the expected. Were the population equally distributed throughout the city, the percentage distribution in each socio-economic area would be the same as that in the total city and the ratio for each age category would be 1.00; ratios greater than 1.00 indicate an over-representation of observed in relation to the expected population.

\*\* In 1950, Area A combined I and II, Area B combined III and IV, Area C combined V and VI.

socio-economic areas. This finding probably reflects a tendency for offspring of families in high status neighborhoods to find housing in residential areas of less high status when separate and independent households are first established. A finding which tends to corroborate this supposition is that more young adults, ages 20 to 24, than expected are in populations of the lower socio-economic areas. Apparently, such neighborhoods have served as a residential point of entry for the young as they first seek independence from their families of orientation, notwithstanding the social status of their parental families.

The analysis of observed-expected ratios suggests a principle concerning social mobility. Table 3 shows that the excessive adult population in most socio-economic areas extends over a period of roughly 20 years, although the specific ages involved in this period vary by socio-economic area. By inference, it would appear that a significant number of adults in all socio-economic areas moved at least once in 20 years to a neighborhood of higher status. These findings suggest the principle that a tendency toward upward social mobility in residential status with increase in age status exists within all segments of the population.

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study provides sufficient evidence to reject the null hypothesis that there is no difference in the distribution of the population by age in varying socio-economic areas. The proportion of young adults living in residential areas of lower status and the proportion of middle-aged adults living in the higher-status areas are greater than might occur by chance. A significant and direct association exists between variations in the population of an urban community by age status, and between variations in its residential areas by socio-economic status. This principle does not apply, however, to all parts of the age continuum: it would appear to be restricted to a 40-year age span representing the principal productive years of adulthood.

Because of the kinds of data analyzed in this study, only inferential conclusions may be made about age status and social mobility by residential area. These conclusions are (1) that there is a tendency toward upward social mobility by residential area as age increases, and (2) that this tendency characterizes populations in lower as well as higher socio-economic areas in an urban community. Again, the application of these conclusions is restricted to the 40-year span of principal productive years.

ON SUICIDE RATE DIFFERENTIALS  
IN TULSA

BERTHOLD BRENNER

*National Office of Vital Statistics*

In a communication which appeared in this journal<sup>1</sup> it was noted that, at least on the basis of an analysis of available data, the "Theory of Status Integration" of Gibbs and Martin<sup>2</sup> fails to explain Powell's observation that among the white males in the Standard Metropolitan Area of Tulsa, Oklahoma, the suicide rate of those in the professional-managerial category has been consistently higher than the rate for those in the sales-clerical and craftsmen categories.<sup>3</sup> Powell's theory, though void of operational measures or indexes, was described by the writer

measure of status integration of other than occupational suicide differentials; but the communication apparently was a factor in the latter's decision to apply their theory to Powell's Tulsa data.<sup>5</sup> Gibbs and Martin report that the relative magnitude of the suicide rate for those in the professional-managerial category represents an isolated "incorrect prediction" among data which generally support their theory. Furthermore, they show that if "professional" and "managerial" are viewed as two distinct status categories (rather than a single occupational type) their integration with white and with male status—based on the relative number of white males in these occupations—is much lower and therefore more in line with the observed suicide rates. A more complete measure of status integration requires,

TABLE 1. PER CENT CLERICAL, SALES, AND CRAFTSMEN, 1950, AND SUICIDE AMONG WHITE MALES, 1937-1956, BY AGE CATEGORIES, IN TULSA COUNTY \*

Age Category	Per Cent Clerical, Sales, and Craftsmen		Suicide Rate	
	Per Cent	Rank of Per Cent	No. per 100,000	Rank of Rate
14-24	43	2	6**	6
25-34	44	1	10	5
35-44	39	3	20	4
45-54	37	4	34	2
55-64	36	5	29	3
65 and over	33	6	40	1

\* Derived from Gibbs and Martin, "On Status Integration and Suicide Rates in Tulsa," *op. cit.*, Table 4.

\*\* Suicide rate is for the age category 15-24.

as being the more likely explanation for the relative magnitude of the Tulsa white male, professional-managerial suicide rate. Powell's theory relates the relatively higher suicide rate among those in the unskilled labor "occupational type" to "dissociation" and the relatively higher rate among those in the professional-managerial occupational type to "envelopment."<sup>4</sup>

My communication did not conclude that dissociation and envelopment, once assessed, might be more predictive than Gibbs and Martin's

however, in accordance with the Gibbs and Martin theory, that other status variables, such as age, also be considered. Yet, in accordance with Gibbs and Martin's qualification, if "only achieved statuses should appear in the rows of a status integration table,"<sup>6</sup> a method for computing the status integration for those in a given occupational category, as opposed to those in a given age category, has yet to be spelled out—if variation in suicide among occupational groups is to be explained by the Theory of Status Integration. Instead, Gibbs and Martin show that the variation of suicide with age, among the white males of Tulsa, can largely be explained by means of their theory. They find a *rho* of  $-.54$  between status integration and the suicide rate for the several age categories, and a *rho* of  $-.90$  if the 14-24 age category is not considered.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Berthold Brenner, "Suicide and Occupation," *American Sociological Review*, 23 (October, 1958), p. 579. See also *The Editor*, "Suicide and Occupation: A Correction," *American Sociological Review*, 24 (February, 1959), p. 86.

<sup>2</sup> Jack P. Gibbs and Walter T. Martin, "A Theory of Status Integration and Its Relationship to Suicide," *American Sociological Review*, 23 (April, 1958), pp. 140-147.

<sup>3</sup> Elwin H. Powell, "Occupation, Status, and Suicide: Toward a Redefinition of Anomie," *American Sociological Review*, 23 (April, 1958), pp. 131-139.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> Jack P. Gibbs and Walter T. Martin, "On Status Integration and Suicide Rates in Tulsa," *American Sociological Review*, 24 (June, 1959), pp. 392-396.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 395, fn. 5.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 395.

TABLE 2. PER CENT CLERICAL, SALES, AND CRAFTSMEN, AND MEASURES OF OCCUPATIONAL INTEGRATION, BY AGE CATEGORIES, IN TULSA COUNTY, 1950 \*

Age Category	Per Cent Clerical, Sales, and Craftsmen		Measure of Occupational Integration	
	Per Cent	Rank of Per Cent	Measure	Rank of Measure
14-24	43	2	.1473	4
25-34	44	1	.1534	1
35-44	39	3	.1521	2
45-54	37	4	.1482	3
55-64	36	5	.1427	5
65 and over	33	6	.1342	6

\* Derived from Gibbs and Martin, "On Status Integration and Suicide Rates in Tulsa," *op. cit.*, Table 4.

Since the age categories also differ in the percentage of persons in various occupational divisions, it is interesting to note that a variation in suicide rates with age would also be expected on the basis of Powell's theory. It follows from Powell's theory that, other factors being equal, suicide should be lower in age categories with a higher percentage of persons in sales, clerical, and craftsmen occupations, these being the occupational divisions included in the occupational types favored by both little dissociation and little envelopment. That this tends to be the case is shown in Table 1. A *rho* of  $-.89$  holds

between the percentage of persons in the sales, clerical, and craftsmen categories and the suicide rate for the several age divisions.

Could it be that at least in this instance status integration is not simply a measure of the extent to which persons of like sex, color, and age are concentrated in a few occupational categories but rather a measure of the extent to which they are concentrated in one or more occupational categories which are low in both dissociation and envelopment? This notion is supported by Table 2. A *rho* of  $+.83$  holds between status integration and percent clerical, sales, and craftsmen.



## COMMUNICATIONS

### FUNCTIONALISM AND SOCIOLOGY

To the Editor:

Kingsley Davis' paper, "The Myth of Functional Analysis,"<sup>1</sup> comes as a pleasant antidote to a "functionalist school." However, if his major points are rephrased, the conclusion would probably be reached that he has been charitable in not taking the available arguments as far as they would go. For example, consider the statement in his opening paragraph: "It is not that the work done under the functional label is poor or unscientific (quite the contrary), but rather that the label itself signalizes and fosters the myth of a homogeneous mode of analysis distinct from other sociological modes of analysis" (p. 757). Let us assume that the generalizations involved could have been otherwise stated as: (a) There is an unwarranted assumption of the existence of a homogeneous mode of analysis known as functional analysis. (b) When what is called functional analysis is good and scientific it is indistinguishable from sociological analysis. This would leave open for idle curiosity the question: "What is functional analysis when it isn't sociological analysis?"

There is some obvious meaningfulness to this question since if the adjective functional is to be viewed as synonymous with sociological we are in the peculiar situation that corresponding to the terms functional and dysfunctional we should be able to speak of consequences as sociological and dys-sociological. But this in turn points to the cogent questions of definitions raised by Davis and others.

The least that can be said about functionalists in sociology and anthropology is that they do insist on something unique in their approach, and possibly this is identified in the meaning implied describing consequences as functional or dysfunctional. It would appear that functionalists define something as functional if it contributes to the maintenance (integration, adaptation, adjustment, and so on) of the system. If the meaning were that a function was merely any consequence for the system, then what possible meaning could be given to the concept dysfunction? Davis is charitable in writing as though

functionalists define something as functional if it has any consequence for the system, and this would make them, as he suggests, sociologists.

In regard to the functionalist definition of functional, a small exercise may be described. Suppose the functionalist is asked: "Contributes to the maintenance of what system?" Suppose further that he gives some delineation, and this is followed by the second question: "Do you mean the system as it is or as it is becoming (evolving)?" Here generally the functionalist will say as it is becoming, since this is the "dynamic analysis." But this raises the logical paradox that in order to judge what contributes to the maintenance (and so on) of the system, one must know what it will become. For this one must either be a magician, or the analysis by definition becomes *post hoc* (historical), since it is only after the fact that we know what the system becomes. And if the system perishes, after the fact what has contributed to its perishing is what was functional!

Kingsley Davis has made an important point which becomes, using functional terminology: The functionalist school is dysfunctional to sociology. This sounds like: Not good from the point of view of what he expects the science to become. More jazzy functionalist language would make it this: Does not contribute to the maintenance (and so on) of sociology in its process of becoming. The former statement seems to be a clear-cut opinion with which we may agree or disagree. The latter is nonsense, of course, because sociology will become what it will, and when it does anything that was in the system by tautology contributed to the maintenance (and so on) of what the system actually became, that is, was functional. In other words, once the band of angels is dancing on the head of the pin, who can say that all that shoving and pushing that went on wasn't necessary?

EDGAR F. BORGATTA

Cornell University

### ON OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION

To the Editor:

The problems concerning occupational classifications which Mr. Gross raises in his article, "The Occupational Variable as a Research Category," (*American Sociological Review*, 24 [Oc-

<sup>1</sup> "The Myth of Functional Analysis as a Special Method in Sociology and Anthropology," *American Sociological Review*, 24 (December, 1959), pp. 757-772.

tober, 1959], pp. 640-649) are clearly recognized by those persons who are working in the field of occupational sociology. The need for more careful and accurate delineation of occupational types recorded in both census and labor survey estimates as well as smaller surveys made by individual investigators is well known.

I think, however, that the author has not taken account of two basic considerations necessary in any attempt to conceptualize: the divergence of theoretical and practical interests, and the range of theory surrounding a concept. This note is meant, then, as an addenda to Gross' article rather than a criticism of it.

A classificatory system (of which the occupational category is one) is essentially a way of ordering a set of phenomena dependent upon the purposes to which they are to be put. The uses may be for analysis of data related to testing hypotheses as a part of theory verification, or serve as a convenient system for making descriptive statements about the phenomena. However, the uses for a classificatory system depend upon where it derives its relevance. If this relevance is derived primarily from an interest in describing situations that are important for so-called "practical" reasons, for example, noting changes in employment and unemployment, rates of job shifting, changes in the composition of the labor force—all of which bear upon some policy issue concerning the desirability of an optimum employment level and distribution for national security, total welfare, and the like,—then the classificatory system is limited in use to describing only these conditions. It is oriented toward phenomena which have implications for public welfare and security.

The classificatory system may, however, be intended primarily to serve as the basis for development of theory, that is, the construction of testable hypotheses of relationships between specified aspects of occupation and other variables (depending upon the theoretical basis being examined), which may aid in verifying theories of social structure.

Whereas the descriptive uses of a classificatory system for "practical" purposes may be derived from the theoretically oriented classificatory system, the reverse of this is not true. Practical relevance may not be theoretical relevance. Thus, Bureau of Census Reports and Monthly Labor Force Reports should not be the basis for establishing the criteria for occupational categories which will then be used for testing hypotheses which are designed to verify theory. Gross does not make this point clear.

In addition, the development of a classificatory system primarily for theoretical purposes de-

pends upon the body of theory with which it deals. It may not be possible to develop an occupational category for all theory related to the occupation variable (concept). Certain aspects of the occupation may be of interest in some theories, but not in others. For example, where interest is in understanding the relationships between occupation and social behavior in other contexts (for example, suicide), the relevant factors of occupation are those which are hypothesized as being causal to or associated with suicide.<sup>1</sup> In another case, the source and stability of income may be more important factors than tasks performed<sup>2</sup> in explanations of behavior associated with particular occupations. And as a recent article has suggested, a two-dimensional approach to occupation categorization may be more meaningful than the single ones heretofore proposed.<sup>3</sup>

Where occupation is a dependent variable, the definition of the concept may involve tasks performed, source of income, type of product, or a combination of these. The explanation of occupational selection and mobility requires a somewhat different approach than when occupation is an independent variable. One classificatory scheme which appears useful has recently been developed,<sup>4</sup> and is based primarily on job tasks. However, status perceptions of occupation types may function in the selection of and mobility between occupations,<sup>5</sup> and thus a classification of occupation types used in occupational mobility theory may rest upon the prestige dimension of occupations rather than tasks performed.

Although a uniform classification of occupations may be deemed desirable for much research in sociology (and labor economics), caution is needed to insure that "practical" interests do not dictate the nature of the conceptualization. But more importantly, such a

<sup>1</sup> Elwin H. Powell, "Occupation, Status, and Suicide," *American Sociological Review*, 23 (April, 1958), pp. 131-139.

<sup>2</sup> Arthur Vidich and Joseph Bensman, *Small Town in Mass Society*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958.

<sup>3</sup> Richard Morris and Raymond Murphy, "The Situs Dimension in Occupational Structure," *American Sociological Review*, 24 (April, 1959), pp. 231-239.

<sup>4</sup> Sidney H. Fine, "A Re-examination of 'Transferability of Skills,'" *Monthly Labor Review*, Washington, D. C.: U. S. Department of Labor, August, 1957.

<sup>5</sup> See, e.g., Philip Olson, *Socio-Economic Factors Affecting Labor Mobility in an Indiana Rural Community*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Purdue University, 1959.

system will have only limited use in theoretical formulations because of the wide range of theories concerning the occupational variable.

PHILIP OLSON

University of Connecticut

### REPLY TO OLSON

To the Editor:

Mr. Olson's concessions in his first paragraph may be passed over. If the problems to which I refer are as clearly recognized as he says, then it would seem high time they were solved. The article was concerned with the latter task.

I do not see the relevance of the "theory-practice" distinction which he draws to the questions I dealt with. I certainly have no quarrel with anyone who wants data gathered for his personal needs, nor with any government department or industry that collects data that help it answer some question that interests it. My concern is with theory and the type of concepts required by theory. However, I gave special attention to the Census because its data are so widely used by social scientists, and my purpose was to point out limitations and offer suggestions which would make those data more useful for social scientists. Of course if the Bureau of the Census takes the view that it does not give a hang for social scientists, that ends the matter. Yet even the government . . . may find it worth while for *practical* reasons to pay attention to the nation's social scientists. A government may decide that the Ptolemaic theory of the solar system is good enough for its purposes—the king may hear supplicants when the sun rises to the top of the heavens and then only—but if it plans an interplanetary missile program, it had better start paying attention to theory. And the role of the modern state in the economy and the society is now very broad indeed.

Mr. Olson's second point is not clear to me. He seems to be saying that different aspects of occupations are of differing importance for different problems. I would certainly agree. Yet the very notion of "aspects" implies there is something these aspects have in common, and that is what I am talking about. Certainly the variable to which he refers—suicide, mobility, and so on—do not constitute "theories" as I use the term. Further, that discussion involves real confusion of occupation with variables associated with it. The income an occupational incumbent receives is not his occupation; nor is the product he produces; nor is the prestige of the occupation. Of course one can draw up lists of occupational titles arranged in terms of these

variables, but one could also draw up a list of salaried occupations classified by the name of the foremen or department heads. Such a list might be useful, but I would hardly call it an *occupational* classification. Occupation refers to what persons do—not how much money they earn, not what their friends think of their work, not whom they work for. Indeed, Mr. Olson's raising of this point brings me back to his first paragraph, for the point illustrates one of the types of confusion I was trying to clarify.

EDWARD GROSS

Washington State University

### ON POPULAR RELIGION

To the Editor:

The purported function of a book review section in any professional journal would seem to be the assessment of the merits and shortcomings of publications, which in turn serves as a guide through the ever expanding list of newly published works. As such, the [reviews occupy] an important and somewhat strategic position in influencing the general tendencies of any given field.

Hence . . . it is felt that the wide divergence between Michael S. Olmsted's opinions and the opinions of the present writers on the merits of Schneider and Dornbusch's *Popular Religion* (*American Sociological Review*, 24 [October, 1959], p. 736) warrants . . . commentary. Obviously this disparity reflects a potentially serious difficulty in the field of sociology in regard to . . . reviewing and the obligation that devolves upon the reviewer.

This response, therefore, should not be interpreted as a defense of *Popular Religion per se* (which we do believe is a work of considerable significance), but rather as a criticism of a type of review that fails to include . . . the more important aspects of reviewed works.

Referring specifically to some of the possibly fruitful areas which might have been reviewed . . . it is . . . apparent to the present writers that *Popular Religion* represents an attempt in sociological analysis in the tradition of Weber and Durkheim—that is, to analyze the content and trends in religious beliefs and in turn to demonstrate their relationships to wider sociological considerations.

If [this view] is at all correct, then any reviewer is obliged to evaluate this attempt. Prior to evaluation, however, there must be recognition . . . that such an attempt has been made. . . . omission reflects a possible oversight which does a disservice to the reader of the review.

There are . . . specific issues of considerable

importance in this work, which have been totally neglected by Mr. Olmsted. . . . the following suggest themselves . . . :

1. The past decades have seen considerable disagreement concerning the degree of secularization and religiosity within religious institutions. *Popular Religion* has something important to say about this; there was no indication of this in the review.

2. The exposition of what Schneider and Dornbusch have labeled the "latent to manifest shift" in inspirational literature is a conscious attempt to develop continuity in social theory. In addition, the implications of this empirical finding should be widely applicable and of considerable interest to social scientists in many areas. Mr. Olmsted's review does not supply this information. . . .

3. The subtle relationship between "adjustment therapy," inspirational literature, and social control . . . receives a sensitive and unique treatment by the authors. The implications of their analysis may be of concern to those interested in social control, mass media, and psychotherapy, as well as the sociology of religion. [Here] Mr. Olmsted neglected valuable materials. . . .

[As] to what Mr. Olmsted did say . . . , we feel that accuracy and perspective may have been "overpowered" by the pursuit of a particular affectual tone.

It seems apparent to the present writers that while the "clever" invective of this sort of review may have provided amusement for some, it does little to advance the scholarly evaluation of serious work.

STANLEY ROBIN  
ROBERT PERRUCCI

Purdue University

#### REPLY TO ROBIN AND PERRUCCI

To the Editor:

My review of *Popular Religion* has struck Msrs. Robin and Perrucci as indulging in frivolous invective (or, in more professional language, "accuracy and perspective may have been 'overpowered' by the pursuit of a particular affectual tone") at the expense of sober elucidation of issues. More specifically and in addition, the review is said to be deficient in the following respects: it fails to note that the book provides data on secularization and religiosity; it does not recognize Schneider and Dornbusch's

study as being in the tradition of Weber, Durkheim, and Merton; and it neglects the relevance of the study for other areas of sociological inquiry.

With regard to the first point, I can only refer to the first and second paragraphs of the review, where I thought I had made clear that the study concerns itself with secularization and religiosity as they appear in inspirational books. On checking, I find I did not use these particular terms. Sorry.

On the second point, I would observe that the criteria by which Msrs. Robin and Perrucci would admit research into the tradition of Weber and Durkheim are, evidently, different from mine. I must confess to an old-fashioned and probably unscientific admiration of great minds and consequently would grant relatively few works the honor of being "in the tradition" of Weber and Durkheim. Who is accorded what honorific labels is not of great moment, but I think it quite clear that I, at least, do not put *Popular Religion* in such august company. I grant that they all talk about religion, but so does Eisenhower. With regard to Mertonian continuities and the "latent to manifest shift" ("The transition . . . from a situation in which religion performed functions . . . largely unknown to its practitioners to one in which . . . the consequences have been converted into deliberately sought ends"—*Popular Religion*, p. 68, n. 57), I would argue that, in the first place, the existence of the shift is noted in the second paragraph of the review, and, secondly, that the concepts, manifest and latent, are sufficiently in the public domain that their employment in a study need not be the occasion for special comment.

The third criticism involves priorities. Msrs. Robin and Perrucci would have had me comment on adjustment, social control, the mass media, and so on. I supposed that readers would recognize that any discussion of religion and religiosity might have such wider relevancies and chose, therefore, to attack another problem. That problem is the apparent difficulty experienced by many persons in distinguishing accomplishment from mere ponderousness. This I take to be a very serious problem in our field and I thought it worthwhile to call attention to *Popular Religion* as an unhappy example of this common mischief.

MICHAEL S. OLMSTED

Smith College



# THE PROFESSION: REPORTS AND OPINION

## THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN PROFESSIONAL SOCIOLOGY

SYLVIA FLEIS FAVA  
Brooklyn College

The various stages of graduate study in sociology are accompanied by a gradual but thorough alteration in the sex ratio. Women make up much the larger proportion of students in sociology undergraduate classes, but in graduate work there

received only eight to 19 per cent of the Ph.D.s in sociology.

There is no indication that the picture is likely to change in the immediate future. Table 1 shows both a numerical and a proportionate decline in undergraduate degrees awarded to women from 1949 through 1958. During the same period the percentages of graduate degrees in sociology earned by women show an irregular series of fluctuations within certain fairly broad limits.

TABLE 1. EARNED DEGREES CONFERRED IN SOCIOLOGY, BY LEVEL OF DEGREE AND BY SEX, 1949-1958

Year Conferred	Bachelor's Degree				Master's Degree				Doctoral Degree			
	Men		Women		Men		Women		Men		Women	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
1949 <sup>a</sup>	2,563	38	4,143	62	270	67	133	33	76	92	7	8
1950	3,848	49	4,038	51	273	67	179	33	80	82	18	18
1951	3,395	46	3,925	54	422	72	162	28	111	86	18	14
1952	2,986	44	3,711	56	386	75	131	25	121	86	20	14
1953	2,655	44	3,447	56	265	72	139	28	145	92	12	8
1954	2,387	42	3,315	58	323	73	117	27	156	85	28	15
1955	2,333	42	3,200	58	348	73	126	27	147	88	20	12
1956	2,553	43	3,363	57	275	68	127	32	141	83	29	17
1957	2,852	45	3,531	55	292	57	223	43	118	88	16	12
1958 <sup>b</sup>	2,977	45	3,606	55	258	65	139	35	122	81	28	19
Future <sup>c</sup>	....	..	....	..	...	..	...	..	216*	88	30*	12

\* Estimated.

<sup>a</sup> Data for 1949 through 1957 computed from U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, Washington, D. C.: for the years 1950-1959.

<sup>b</sup> Data computed from D. Gertler, "Earned Degrees Conferred by Higher Educational Institutions, 1957-1958," Washington, D. C.: U. S. Office of Education, Circular No. 570, May 1959.

<sup>c</sup> Data adapted from "Doctoral Dissertations in Progress, 1958," *American Journal of Sociology*, 65 (July, 1959), pp. 91-99. These listings are incomplete. Percentages are based on those degree candidates (246 of 259) whose names definitely could be classified as masculine or feminine. Therefore, these figures should be regarded as estimates and are not fully comparable with those for 1949-1957.

are fewer women, and at the Ph.D. and active professional level women are relatively rare. Here this sex differential in "mortality rates" is briefly analyzed.

## DIFFERENTIALS BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN IN PROFESSIONAL SOCIOLOGY

A closer look at the differential itself, presented in Table 1, shows that from 1949 through 1958 between one-half and two-thirds of the undergraduate degrees in sociology were awarded to women. In contrast, the master's degrees awarded to women during this period ranged from 25 to 43 per cent of the total, and women

The best available estimates indicate that the proportions will continue to lie within those limits in the next few years. The *American Journal of Sociology*, July 1959, lists 259 doctoral dissertations in progress during 1958; 30 names, or 12 per cent, can be identified as female. Whatever the factors influencing the participation of women in graduate study in sociology, they do not seem to be bringing any major changes in the near future.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> However, comparisons over a longer period than the ten years discussed above indicate that a decline in the proportion of Ph.D.s granted to women in all fields has occurred. Thirteen per cent of all Ph.D.s were awarded to women in 1940, in

TABLE 2. PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN PROFESSIONAL SOCIOLOGICAL ACTIVITIES, 1949-1958

Year	Type of Participation*									
	Art. in AJS		Rev. in AJS		Art. in ASR		Rev. in ASR		Annual Meetings**	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
1949	6	12	15	11	6	8	6	7	11	7
1950	5	9	27	17	7	7	8	6	13	8
1951	3	5	9	7	10	9	11	7	7	5
1952	8	13	6	5	13	10	7	4	16	9
1953	5	9	14	9	9	9	7	5	17	6
1954	4	6	10	9	2	2	7	4	23	6
1955	8	11	8	5	7	8	10	5	27	6
1956	10	12	16	9	9	8	12	4	20	6
1957	6	10	12	6	8	8	13	5	38	9
1958	4	6	11	6	7	4	12	6	35	8

\*One unit of measurement is an article or a book review published in the *American Journal of Sociology* or the *American Sociological Review*. Thus, if an author wrote two book reviews he or she was counted twice. Each appropriate volume of the two journals was used to compute the year's publication—for the ASR volumes include six issues from February through December, for the AJS, from July through May.

\*\*Based on official participation at the annual meetings of the American Sociological Society (Association) according to the final printed programs. Authors or co-authors of papers, chairmen of sessions, discussants, and panelists were included as official participants; an individual's name was counted as many times as he or she was listed in any of these capacities.

Table 2 presents measures of the representation of women in some types of professional activity other than graduate study, namely, publication of articles and book reviews in the *American Journal of Sociology* or in the *American Sociological Review*, and participation at annual meetings of the American Sociological Society [Association]. In Table 2, as in Table 1, there is no clear indication of any major change during the past ten years; the proportion of women who are active in professional sociology has remained relatively constant.<sup>2</sup>

1957 11 per cent. During the intervening years the proportion has dropped to nine per cent several times. To find percentages of Ph.D.s granted to women as consistently low as those prevailing since 1940 requires inspection of pre-World War I records. See U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, *Biennial Survey of Education in the U. S., 1948-1950*, Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1954, p. 40; and U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the U. S.*, Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, volumes for the years 1950-1958.

<sup>2</sup> Lists of research underway published in recent issues of *Current Sociological Research* are not included in Table 2, but provide an estimate of possible future publication and further professional activity by women. The names of authors or co-authors in the 1955, 1957, and 1958 issues include 13, 13, and 15 per cent, respectively, which can be identified as feminine. (The 1956 issue was not available.) However, the basis for computation of

An important contrast between Tables 1 and 2 is the generally lower level of female participation that Table 2 reflects. "Differential mortality" between the sexes is apparently progressive. It not only continues through graduate study but, as Table 2 suggests, produces marked differentials at the level of professional meetings and publication. Additional support for this conclusion is perhaps the fact that since the founding of the American Sociological Society in 1906 only one woman has been President—Dorothy Swaine Thomas in 1952.

The pervasive character of sex differentials in professional sociology is shown in Table 3, which presents information on earnings and age for equivalent categories of male and female sociologists. The data were gathered in 1952 by the American Council of Learned Societies in a national survey sponsored by the Department of Defense; it was estimated that the survey covered 40 per cent of all professionally employed sociologists, including those working in applied sociology.<sup>3</sup> It is noteworthy that all six of the

these data differs from that employed for Table 2. For research underway, no allowance was made for the possibility of multiple future publications by a single individual. Thus it is possible, but not fully demonstrable, that professional participation by women at meetings and in publications will increase somewhat in the next few years.

<sup>3</sup> U. S. Department of Labor, "Personnel Resources in the Social Sciences and Humanities," Washington,

TABLE 3. MEDIAN ANNUAL SALARY AND MEDIAN AGE OF MALE AND FEMALE SOCIOLOGISTS, BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION AND BY TYPE OF EMPLOYMENT, 1952 \*

	Men		Women	
	Median Salary	Median Age	Median Salary	Median Age
Level of Education				
Ph.D.	\$5,900	43	\$5,300	48
Master's Degree	4,100	33	4,000	36
Bachelor's Degree	4,600	32	4,200	30
Type of Employment				
College or University	5,100	39	4,300	42
Employment and Education				
College or University, Ph.D.s only	5,700	43	5,100	50
Total	5,200	38	4,500	40

\* Data from U. S. Department of Labor, *op. cit.*, pp. 34, 119-121.

salary comparisons in Table 3 show a differential in favor of the men, although in every case but one the median age of the women is greater than that of the men.

Table 3 underscores once more the progressive nature of differentials between men and women sociologists. Thus, the table shows that salary differentials are considerably greater among Ph.D.s than between men and women with master's degrees or among sociologists with bachelor's degrees. The same 600 dollar differential in median salary prevails between men and women sociologists with Ph.D.s, even considering only those employed by colleges and universities (although the median salaries are lower). The large differential between the salaries of male and female Ph.D.s is heightened by the fact that it is coupled with the largest differences in age. For all Ph.D.s in sociology the median age of women is five years higher than that of men (48 *versus* 43 years), while for those Ph.D.s employed by colleges and universities the difference is seven years (50 *versus* 43 years).

In summary, Tables 1, 2, and 3 show that the proportions of women decline steadily with higher levels of professional activity, whether measured by professional degrees earned in sociology or by representation in professional journals or official participation at meetings. Differentials in salary and age are general, even between men and women at the same level of employment and education.

#### COMPARISON OF SOCIOLOGY WITH OTHER FIELDS

Another way to assess the position of women in sociology is by comparison with the position of women in other fields. Thus, although Table 3

shows persistent salary differentials in favor of male sociologists, such differentials are general in many professions. The survey on which Table 3 is based also found that "in most specialties [in the social sciences and humanities surveyed], the average salary differential between men and women of comparable age and level of education and the same type of employment was about 1,000 [dollars] in 1952."<sup>4</sup> All of the differentials between male and female sociologists were below this level, as is evident in Table 3.

If only those men and women sociologists with Ph.D.s and colleges or university employment are compared with similar groups in other specialties, then the sex differentials in salary for sociologists are among the lowest computed in the 1952 survey. The differential for these sociologists was 600 dollars, but 800 in history, 800 in linguistics and literature, 900 in political science, 1,000 in "other humanities," 1,000 in economics, 1,400 in geography, and 1,400 dollars in anthropology and archaeology.<sup>5</sup>

There are no data readily available for other fields comparable to the data shown in Table 2 on the representation of women in professional publications and at meetings. However, figures are available on the proportion of women among professionally employed personnel in the 1952 survey referred to above.<sup>6</sup> This survey shows that sociology occupies a middle-of-the-road position among the fields covered. Women made up 14.6 per cent of professionally employed sociologists, a proportion well below that in geography (18.4 per cent), linguistics and literature (21.8 per cent), anthropology and archaeology (23.6 per cent), and art (29.6 per cent).

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 33-36.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18.

On the other hand, the proportion in sociology was well above those in economics (6.1 per cent), political science (7.1 per cent), and philosophy (7.4 per cent). The proportions

closest to sociology's were those in history and statistics (in each field, 12.7 per cent).

Fuller comparative data on the status of women in sociology are found in Table 4, which

TABLE 4. EARNED DEGREES CONFERRED ON WOMEN, BY DEGREE LEVEL AND BY MAJOR FIELD OF STUDY, 1949-1958\*

Major Field	Year Conferred	Bachelor's Degrees		Master's Degrees		Doctoral Degrees	
		No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Biology	1949	2,258	27	105	26	21	20
	1950	2,307	22	130	24	12	15
	1951	2,072	24	120	21	20	14
	1952	1,812	26	109	20	23	17
	1953	1,722	29	113	24	23	14
	1954	1,686	29	99	23	20	14
	1955	1,647	28	135	30	15	10
	1956	1,560	31	108	29	21	20
	1957	1,746	31	119	26	23	17
	1958	2,053	30	149	32	27	21
Chemistry	1949	1,703	19	213	15	37	5
	1950	1,485	14	208	13	39	4
	1951	1,222	15	162	11	52	5
	1952	1,102	16	167	12	45	4
	1953	1,073	18	116	10	51	5
	1954	1,064	18	126	11	45	4
	1955	1,139	19	137	12	36	4
	1956	1,182	19	129	11	52	5
	1957	1,294	20	134	13	48	5
	1958	1,305	19	167	15	49	5
Economics	1949	1,158	10	115	13	11	7
	1950	1,102	8	114	12	9	4
	1951	906	9	71	9	17	7
	1952	1,075	13	83	12	16	7
	1953	768	11	61	10	8	4
	1954	790	12	62	10	12	5
	1955	686	11	78	13	9	4
	1956	676	10	56	10	11	5
	1957	664	10	50	8	9	4
	1958	605	8	70	11	5	2
Education	1949	24,418	65	6,163	45	119	17
	1950	27,753	59	7,723	42	142	16
	1951	32,633	63	9,154	42	150	16
	1952	35,903	69	10,855	44	177	17
	1953	38,062	74	11,321	45	223	18
	1954	37,546	79	12,054	46	240	17
	1955	35,790	83	12,189	47	228	17
	1956			later figures not comparable			
History	1949	3,259	31	446	28	31	15
	1950	3,325	25	428	24	29	11
	1951	3,321	27	385	23	30	9
	1952	2,931	29	370	26	26	8
	1953	2,863	30	349	27	21	7
	1954	2,967	32	356	29	34	10
	1955	2,833	30	366	31	28	9
	1956	3,201	30	306	28	27	10
	1957	3,531	30	343	27	32	10
	1958	3,852	30	360	26	32	11



TABLE 4.—(Continued)

Major Field	Year Conferred	Bachelor's Degrees		Master's Degrees		Doctoral Degrees	
		No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Physics	1949	183	6	43	5	7	3
	1950	127	4	34	4	5	1
	1951	117	4	39	4	8	2
	1952	106	5	35	4	9	2
	1953	84	4	35	5	6	1
	1954	75	4	29	4	6	1
	1955	76	4	28	4	12	2
	1956	102	4	23	3	8	2
	1957	122	4	28	3	14	3
	1958	144	5	25	3	9	3
Political Science	1949	1,137	19	123	15	12	10
	1950	980	15	113	16	10	8
	1951	884	16	90	14	9	6
	1952	909	19	76	14	12	9
	1953	974	19	76	15	12	7
	1954	1,018	19	79	15	10	7
	1955	1,085	20	84	17	10	6
	1956	1,109	20	75	15	15	7
	1957	1,109	19	68	13	7	4
	1958	1,136	18	80	12	6	4
Psychology	1949	3,614	44	566	39	34	17
	1950	3,524	37	368	28	42	15
	1951	2,983	38	395	24	57	13
	1952	2,839	43	340	24	73	14
	1953	2,616	44	265	23	79	14
	1954	2,673	46	369	29	66	11
	1955	2,523	46	417	32	84	12
	1956	2,557	45	283	29	86	14
	1957	2,666	43	332	30	90	16
	1958	2,867	41	399	32	84	15
Social Work	1949	772	76	1,359	71	2	**
	1950			data not comparable			
	1951	689	66	1,187	62	6	**
	1952	715	67	1,096	57	3	**
	1953	595	65	1,010	56	7	**
later data not comparable							

\* Data computed from *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, for the years 1950 through 1959.

\*\* Percentages not computed because of the small total numbers of Ph.D.s.

presents the proportions of undergraduate and graduate degrees earned by women in various fields. Table 4 shows, as do the data on salary differentials, that differential "mortality rates" are a general phenomenon. In all cases the proportion of women receiving graduate degrees is sharply lower than those receiving undergraduate degrees, even when women receive a large majority of the undergraduate degrees.

There are significant variations, however, in the nature of the differentials in various fields. The fields covered by Table 4 may be divided into the following five types in terms of the patterns and proportions of degrees earned by women: (1) In education women earn well over

half the bachelor's degrees, about half the master's degrees, and a substantial minority of the Ph.D.s.<sup>7</sup> Even in this "women's field" the proportion of women at the highest professional-training level, the Ph.D., is sharply lower than that of men. (2) Sociology and psychology represent fields in which the undergraduate degrees are about equally divided between men and women, but at the master's level women usually account for one-quarter to one-third of the

<sup>7</sup> There is some indication that social work also belongs to this type, but the total number of Ph.D.s granted in this field is too small for meaningful computation.

degrees, and at the doctoral level for only ten to 20 per cent. (3) Fields which initially attract fewer women than men as undergraduates include biology and history, although the proportion of bachelor's degrees awarded to women is still substantial (from one-fifth to one-third). The proportion of master's degrees awarded to women in biology and history is also substantial (from 20 to 30 per cent) and, as in sociology and psychology, from ten to 20 per cent of the Ph.D. degrees are awarded to women. (4) Chemistry, economics, and political science illustrate "men's fields," since no more than one-fifth of the undergraduate degrees are awarded to women. The proportion of women's master's degrees is lower but not sharply so, and from five to ten per cent of the Ph.D.s are earned by women. (5) Physics is an example of a further extension of this pattern—a maximum of six per cent of the bachelor's degrees are awarded to women, a maximum of five per cent of the master's degrees, and a maximum of three per cent of the doctoral degrees. These five types do not represent the complete spectrum of women's participation in professional fields. For example, in engineering, not shown in Table 4, the proportion of women who earn degrees at any level is less than one per cent.

Obviously sociology occupies a "favorable" position in this hierarchy. It is important to note, however, that the relative frequency of women Ph.D.s in sociology is partly a function of the high proportion of undergraduate degrees in sociology granted to women. In other words, the differential "mortality rate" is not necessarily lower in sociology than in other fields,<sup>8</sup> but the proportion of survivors is relatively large because the base is so much larger than in most other fields.

In summary, the available comparative data on salary differentials, the proportion of professionally employed personnel who are women, and "mortality rates" in graduate study show that women's position in professional sociology is relatively "better" than in many other fields and "worse" than in some others.

#### CONCLUSION

It is impossible within a brief paper to explore in any detail the causes of these differentials in educational attainments, professional participation, and pay between men and women in sociology. The factors at work are familiar to most

<sup>8</sup> For example, the "mortality rate" is lower in biology than in sociology. Although the proportion of bachelor's degrees awarded to women in biology is much lower than in sociology, the proportion of Ph.D.s awarded to women is about the same.

professionals in the field, but are probably less obvious to students and newcomers. Despite the evident attractions the field holds for a large number of female undergraduate sociology majors, there are not only marriage and home life which act to pull them away, but also certain factors within the field which push them away from professional sociology. The "push" factors include the reluctance of graduate faculties, award committees, and employers to invest time, money, and training in candidates who are not as likely to yield a "dividend" in terms of furthering the profession for which they have been prepared.

The situation in sociology appears rather stable in our tables but it may not remain so against the background of a number of large-scale social changes: the new post-war pattern of female participation in the labor force; the increased marriage and birth rates among college women; the expanding need for college faculties and scientific personnel. The potential impact of these changes could be very large and by no means in only one direction. As men, women, and sociologists it behooves us to subject these and other changes to analysis, discussion—and appropriate action.

Consideration of the position of women in professional sociology is not esoteric but involves both matters of substantive sociological interest, such as role behavior and its impact on the content of sociology, and a situation with important practical and ethical implications, such as the accessibility of sociology as a field of professional activity and the resulting effect on the future supply of sociologists.

#### PH.D.s IN SOCIOLOGY: A CORRECTION

F. James Davis, author of "Courses Preferred for Admission to Graduate Departments of Sociology," recently published in this section of the *Review* (25 [February, 1960], pp. 102-105), has called my attention to a proof-reading error that may have raised some eyebrows, at least. Footnote 5 (p. 102)—which refers to eight universities with "large doctoral programs" and to Ph.D.s granted in 1955, 1956, and 1957—should read: "Columbia granted the most (36). The other universities are Cornell (28), Chicago (22), Michigan (20), Wisconsin (19), Washington, in Seattle (18), North Carolina (16), and Ohio State (16). The only non-responder that would probably be in this group is Harvard." (Footnote 6, referring to M.A. degrees, is correct.) My apologies to Professor Davis and to all concerned readers and institutions. — *The Editor*.

## NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

SAMUEL JOSEPH  
1881-1959

Careers in sociology are often the professional projection of personal problems. One hopes that by exploitation of the methods of science and objective scholarship one will find answers to social issues with which one has intimate individual familiarity. The life-work of Samuel Joseph, founder of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at The City College of New York, is a case in point. Born in Russia in 1881, Professor Joseph came to the United States as part of the large-scale exodus of Jews who sought refuge from religious persecution. He early developed an interest in the problems of Jewish immigration and the processes of Americanization. His two principal sociological studies deal with these subjects. In 1914 he published his doctoral dissertation, *Jewish Immigration to the United States from 1881 to 1910*. This was written at the significant turning point in American sociological history when Franklin H. Giddings at Columbia University was developing his appreciation of statistical and quantitative methods. Grace Abbott, in her review of this study, called it a "useful analysis" and concluded that "It is altogether the sort of contribution to the history of immigration which is much needed."

In 1935, The Jewish Publication Society published Professor Joseph's *History of the Baron de Hirsch Fund*, a study of the Americanization of the Jewish immigrant. He himself had contributed significantly to the facilitation of this process of adjustment through his role as educator of immigrants and the children of immigrants, first as founder and director of his own preparatory school, then as a teacher in the New York City high schools, and, finally, from 1928 until his retirement, as a member of the faculty of The City College. In the latter role, he provided guidance and stimulation to many who later became distinguished members of the sociological profession. He established, in 1929, the Social Research Laboratory, one of the first organizations to provide supervised field work opportunities for sociology undergraduates. Professor Joseph's initiative made it possible for a number of us to receive our

initial experiences in social research as undergraduate participants in such projects as Caroline Ware's study of Greenwich Village.

The City College's Department of Sociology and Anthropology notes in its memorial minute to Professor Joseph that he was "in the finest sense of the word, an educator, both within the College and in the wider community." He would have been very proud of this tribute to his life-long commitment to the training and inspiration of young people, including, especially, the youngsters he loved most: the children of immigrants.

HARRY ALPERT

University of Oregon

GREGORY ZILBOORG  
1890-1959

Gregory Zilboorg was a Russian by birth. He was trained in sociology and medicine, became a student of Bekhterev, and graduated from the Psychoneurological Institute in St. Petersburg in 1917. He was a participant in the revolution in Petrograd in 1917. In 1919, he came to the United States, and was active in lecturing, journalism, and the theatre from 1919 to 1926. In the latter year, he returned to his earlier interest in psychiatry, obtaining his M.D. from the College of Physicians and Surgeons, Columbia University. From 1926 to 1931, he was on the staff of the Bloomingdale Hospital, after which he started in private practice. For a number of years, he was clinical professor at New York Medical College.

Dr. Zilboorg had a strong interest in the historical development of medicine which resulted in a number of important historical studies, among them, *The Medical Man and the Witch* (1935), *History of Medical Psychology* (with George W. Henry, 1941), and *Mind, Medicine, and Man* (1943). He also translated several books from the Russian, including *The Criminal, the Judge, and the Public*, by Franz Alexander and Hugo Staub (1931).

Dr. Zilboorg's interest in sociology, dating from his earliest training, was reflected in his membership in the American Sociological Society (Association). His historical interest

focused on "psycho-sociological" phenomena, to use his phrase, that related to the history of medicine. Although his respect for Freud was profound, he sought to enlarge the Freudian frame of reference in the historical dimension. Both sociology and anthropology, as disciplines, throwing some light on the meaning of history, served as backdrops for psychiatric analyses of the human mind. Dr. Zilboorg's style has clarity and economy. He stood for a liberal psychiatric approach to the general area of culture and personality. Thus he was a pioneer both courageous and able. He broke ground where many in the future will seek to sow and reap.

BARTLETT H. STOODLEY

Wellesley College

#### EDWARD A. TAYLOR 1902-1959

Edward A. Taylor, Professor of Sociology and Chairman of the Department of Sociology at Linfield College, Oregon, died in Montreal on June 30, 1959. There, he was waiting on the docks to embark for Europe.

Following graduation from high school in Colville, Washington, he attended Washington State College, graduating with honors in 1925 with a combination major in economics, science, and history. He received his M.A. in sociology from Washington State College in 1926, where he taught for two years as an instructor. He received a teaching fellowship at the University of Minnesota in 1928, followed by a teaching fellowship at Cornell University, where he specialized in rural sociology and was awarded the Ph.D. in 1931. He taught at Ohio University in Athens from 1931 until 1950, except for a period of service with the Army Air Force from 1943 to 1945 when he headed the Information and Education Department at Santa Ana Preflight School. He became Chairman of the Department of Sociology at Ohio University in 1946 and served as Chairman until struck by illness in 1950. Subsequently Dr. Taylor moved to the Pacific coast and Linfield College, where he was Chairman of the Department of Sociology for nine years until his death.

Edward Taylor was a considerate, friendly, and intelligent person who was exceptionally well-liked by students, colleagues, and mem-

bers of the community. That he was a favorite of the students was continually evidenced by the unusually large enrollment in his classes.

In addition to his outstanding contribution to sociology as a teacher and administrator, Dr. Taylor wrote a number of government bulletins and articles. In his years at Linfield he was concerned particularly with the problems of migrant workers and prison reforms.

STANTON B. TOWNER

Linfield College

#### *American Academy of Arts and Sciences.*

The committee on Monograph Prizes announces that the program inaugurated last year to award prizes of 1,000 dollars to authors of especially meritorious unpublished monographs in the humanities, social sciences, and physical and biological sciences is being continued for 1960. The final date for receipt of manuscripts is October 1. Full details may be secured on request by sending a stamped self-addressed envelope to the Committee on Monograph Prizes, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 280 Newton Street, Brookline Station, Boston 46, Massachusetts.

The 1959 Award in the field of the social sciences was made to Professors Lawrence E. Fouraker and Sidney Siegel of Pennsylvania State University for their study, "Bargaining and Group Decision Making: Experiments in Bilateral Monopoly," with an honorable mention to Dr. Margaret Hodgen of Pasadena, California for her study, "Early Anthropological Ideas of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries."

*American Society of Group Psychotherapy and Psychodrama.* The annual meeting will be held at the Barbizon Plaza Hotel, New York City, April 27, 28, and 29. Papers should be sent to P.O. Box 311, Beacon, New York.

*Books for Asian Students.* Contributions of books and journals published after 1945, or "standard authors" published earlier, are needed to assist Asian countries to further their educational programs, both on the secondary and college levels. The Asia Foundation will pay transportation costs. Questions concerning categories, criteria, shipping, and program details should be addressed to: Books for Asian Students, 21 Drumm Street, San Francisco 11, California.

*The Institute of Radio Engineers.* Albert H. Rubenstein, Professor of Industrial Engineering at Northwestern University, has been appointed Editor of the *IRE Transactions on Engineering Management*. He is interested in obtaining papers resulting from systematic studies of Research, Development, and Engineering. The range of subjects covered by



the *Transactions* includes economic, organizational, and human relations aspects of these activities. Manuscripts and inquiries should be addressed to the editor at The Technological Institute, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois.

**Journal of Health and Human Behavior.** Austin L. Porterfield is Editor and E. Gartley Jaco Co-Editor of this new quarterly established by The Leo Potishman Foundation at Texas Christian University, the first issue of which appeared on March 1. Devoted to social science studies on health and medicine emphasizing ecological, demographic, socio-epidemiological, socio-etiological, community, and family aspects of health and disease, papers are invited on the socio-cultural aspects of medical care; on the preparation for medical careers and related specializations; on health, disease and stressful situations at all stages of the life cycle; and on alcoholism and suicide, or other medically related forms of deviant behavior. Further information may be obtained from the *Journal*, Texas Christian University, Fort Worth 29, Texas.

**The Merrill-Palmer Quarterly of Behavior and Development.** The *Quarterly* publishes papers representing the various disciplines bearing on human development, personality, and social relations, and welcomes conceptual analyses of problems under investigation, results of exploratory studies, and illustrative case material, as well as completed research reports, in order to facilitate early communication among workers in these fields; papers which develop new approaches to theory, research and practice, and which critically examine existing approaches are also invited. Manuscripts and inquiries should be addressed to Martin L. Hoffman, Editor, *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly*, 71 E. Ferry Avenue, Detroit 2, Michigan.

**Pan American Union.** A new Inter-American Program for Advanced Training in Applied Social Sciences is being sponsored with the cooperation of the government of Mexico, the Instituto Nacional Indigenista de México, and other official organizations. Two-year fellowships are available, for which application must be made by October 15, 1960 for the group entering in March, 1961. Inquiries should be addressed to Division of Science Development (Social Sciences), Pan American Union, Washington 6, D. C.

**The Society for the Scientific Study of Religion.** The twentieth meeting will be held in New York City on October 28-29, 1960, featuring an emphasis on methodology and the scientific study of religion. However, scholars with empirical studies to report in the general field are invited to send projected subjects to the Program Committee in the form of five copies of an abstract of not more than 300 words. Write to Horace M. Kallen, 411 West 114th Street, New York 25, New York.

**Southern Regional Education Board.** The 1960 Southern Regional Graduate Summer Session in Statistics will be held at the University of Florida

at Gainesville from June 20 to July 29. Requests for application blanks should be addressed to Dr. Herbert A. Meyer, Statistical Laboratory, University of Florida, Box 3568, Gainesville, Florida.

**Boston University.** Albert Morris has resigned the chairmanship of the Department in order to devote more time to research and writing in criminology. He continues as Professor of Sociology and is currently on sabbatical leave for the academic year 1959-1960, as Fulbright Research Scholar affiliated with Victoria University College and the Department of Justice in New Zealand. Irwin T. Sanders joined the Department at the beginning of the second semester as Professor of Sociology and Chairman.

**Brigham Young University.** The Department of Sociology has been expanded to the Department of Sociology and Anthropology; since 1958 it has been authorized to accept candidates for the Ph.D. degree. Of the 13 full-time faculty members, two are new this year: Glenn M. Vernon, from Central Michigan College, and Evan T. Peterson, from Mississippi State University. William G. Dyer is on leave of absence in Washington, D. C., with the National Training Laboratory, and Vernon W. Larsen on leave working in community development under the auspices of the University of Saskatchewan. La Mar Empey is on leave directing an extended study of juvenile delinquency supported by a Ford Foundation grant.

**The University of British Columbia.** Harry B. Hawthorn, Professor and Head of the Department of Anthropology, is on leave of absence for the current academic year. During his absence, Cyril S. Belshaw is Acting Head. Belshaw has returned from a year of field work in Fiji, supported by grants from the Tri Institutional Pacific Program and the Social Science Research Council.

Andrew P. Vayda, Visiting Lecturer, is cooperating with Wayne Suttles on research related to social evolution and warfare in primitive society.

R. P. Srivastava, of the University of Saugar, India, is Visiting Lecturer as a Fellow of the Canada Council, and is continuing his studies of the Sikh community in British Columbia.

Cooperation between the Departments of Anthropology and Slavonic Studies has been effected through the joint appointment of George Cheney as Lecturer to specialize in the ethnology of the peoples of the Soviet Union.

Bernard R. Blishen, of the Department of Sociology, is carrying out a study on the socialization of medical students. He is also Director of the Institute of Social and Economic Research.

Reginald A. H. Robson has received various grants for a study of the choice and rejection of the academic career.

Kaspar D. Naegele has returned from a year at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences and is completing studies on medical sociology and social roles.

**Brooklyn College.** Herbert Bloch has taken a

special leave of absence to serve as Chief of Mission for Public Safety in Colombo, Ceylon, under the auspices of the International Cooperation Administration.

Robert Ehrlich received a grant from the National Science Foundation to attend a specialized and limited symposium on "Problems of the Late Neolithic Period in Europe," which convened in Prague on October 5-12, 1959.

S. M. Miller and Leo Chall attended the World Congress of Sociology at Stresa, Italy. Chall has also received a grant from the National Science Foundation to aid him in the further development of *Sociological Abstracts*.

Herbert Stroup is on an assignment in Calcutta, India. He will head a study team charged with establishing a plan of assistance for the East Pakistan refugees now settled in Calcutta.

Rex Hopper spent last summer in Argentina on a Fulbright Lectureship grant at the National University of Buenos Aires. He also lectured at the National University of Tucuman and at the National University of La Plata, attended the Fifth Latin American Sociological Congress in Montevideo, and lectured at the National University of Uruguay.

George Simpson has returned from a year as Fulbright Lecturer at the University of Leiden.

**University of Colorado.** The Institute of Behavioral Sciences has received a grant from the National Institutes of Health for the second year of study of cultural values and behavior patterns in a southwestern Colorado community. The five-year project, "Values and Behavior of a Tri-ethnic Community," is directed by Omer C. Stewart, Professor of Anthropology, and Co-director is Richard Jessor, Associate Professor of Psychology. Shirley Jessor, Visiting Lecturer in Psychology, and Harold L. Amoss, Assistant Professor of Anthropology, are participating.

**University of Idaho.** Harry C. Harmsworth, Chairman of Sociology, is engaged in advance study at the University of California, Berkeley, during the second semester, 1959-1960. Mhyra S. Minnis is Acting Chairman during his absence.

**The Iliff School of Theology.** Oliver R. Whitley, Associate Professor of Sociology of Religion, received the Bethany Book Award for his volume, *Trumpet Call of Reformation*, a sociological study of the sect-to-denomination process in the Disciples of Christ (Christian Churches).

**University of Louisville.** The Raymond A. Kent School of Social Work announces a program of training in corrections, under the direction of Charles L. Newman. The corrections-social work course of study is geared directly to persons either already employed in the correctional field or planning to enter service in adult or juvenile correctional work.

**University of Michigan.** The Survey Research Center will hold its annual summer institute in Survey Research Techniques, designed to illustrate

the practical application of such methods to various fields. Introductory courses will be offered from June 20 to July 16, the regular session from July 18 to August 13. For further information please write to the Survey Research Center, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

**University of Minnesota.** Reuben Hill has been named to the editorial board of *Child Development Abstracts*, and Associate Editor of *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly*. Arnold M. Rose is serving as an associate editor of the *Journal of Health and Human Behavior*. Roy G. Francis has been named to the editorial board of the *Sociological Quarterly*.

**Portland State College.** John James is continuing on part-time leave while serving as Research Director, Oregon Study of Rehabilitation of Mental Hospital Patients, now in its third year.

Charles S. Brant spent the summer of 1959 conducting an exploratory community study in northern Saskatchewan, focused upon contemporary cultural change in intergroup relations among a mixed population of Cree Indians, Métis, and Whites. His work was sponsored by the Center for Community Studies, University of Saskatchewan.

Charles Frantz is continuing on leave for a second year to do research on race relations in Southern Rhodesia. His work is sponsored by the Ford Foundation and the University of Chicago.

The offices of the Oregon Board of Census have been moved to Portland State College. Warren E. Kalbach, Director, holds a joint appointment with the Board of Census and the College.

Thomas M. Newman has joined the staff. He has received an award of a post-doctoral Fellowship of the National Science Foundation for archeological research in Sierra Leone, British West Africa, which he plans to initiate in the fall of 1960.

Lois R. Dean joined the staff in the Spring quarter, 1960. She has been Research Director, Kansas City Study of Adult Life.

**Purdue University.** Phillip M. Marcus has been appointed Research Associate and Instructor in Sociology. He is working with Leonard Breen on a project on "Preretirement Education Among Labor Unions," which has financial support from the National Institute of Labor Education.

The National Heart Institute has awarded a grant to Robert L. Eichhorn, Department of Sociology, and W. H. M. Morris, Department of Agricultural Economics, for the first year of a five-year program of research on rehabilitating farmers with heart disease. Eleanor Noble Nishiura has been appointed Instructor in Sociology and Research Associate on the Project.

The Training Giants Division of the National Heart Institute has awarded Purdue's Department of Sociology a grant for the support of a three-year program designed to train sociologists in the use of surveys for the study of health problems. In addition to meeting the normal requirements for the Master of Science or Doctor of Philosophy degree, graduate students who are awarded fellowships will be involved in the research activities of the

Purdue Farm Cardiac Project. Robert L. Eichhorn will be responsible for the training of the fellows. Inquiries should be addressed to the Department.

Harold T. Christensen is serving as Program Chairman for an international conference on the family, sponsored by the International Union of Family Organizations and held in conjunction with the annual meeting of the National Council on Family Relations, scheduled for August 23-26, 1960, at Columbia University. Christensen has relinquished editorship of *Marriage and Family Living*, a position he has held from 1957.

Leonard Breen is a member of the Planning Committee for the forthcoming meeting of the International Congress of Gerontology to be held in San Francisco on August 7-12, 1960. He also is serving as American Chairman of the Section on Population and Social Organization.

Gerald Leslie has been appointed an associate editor of the *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly*. He also was elected to a three-year term on the Board of Directors of NCFR and continues to serve as Chairman of the Council's Membership Development Committee.

**Sacramento State College.** Leonard Cain, Associate Professor, will serve as Visiting Associate Professor of Sociology and Social Institutions at the University of California, Berkeley, in the Spring and Summer sessions in 1960.

Wilson Record, Associate Professor, has received a grant from the William Volker Fund for a three-year study of counseling and cultural conflict in public school systems.

Recent appointments include Sharad Malelu as Assistant Professor of Sociology, and Sidney Eisenberg, as Assistant Professor of Social Welfare, who formerly was head of the Psychiatric Social Work Department at Mendocino State Hospital.

**San Diego State College.** Bernard C. Kirby has been appointed Chairman of the joint Sociology-Anthropology Department, which now has a graduate program leading to the master's degree in sociology, and a major in anthropology. A Social Research Center has been established.

Thomas O. McJunkins from Indiana University has joined the staff, replacing Richard A. Kurtz, who resigned in order to direct a study of health needs in the state of Nebraska under the auspices of the University of Nebraska.

David S. Milne has returned from a sabbatical leave. Spencer Rogers acted as Chairman of the Division of Social Sciences during his absence.

Orrin Klapp and Aubrey Wendling have collaborated with L. Vincent Padgett of the Department of Political Science in a study of community influentials in the border cities of San Diego and Tijuana, Baja, Mexico. The investigation is part of the Anglo-American Relations Study under the direction of Charles P. Loomis of Michigan State University.

Morris J. Daniels and Frank W. Young have received grants from the National Institute of Mental Health for exploratory research. Daniels is investi-

gating the nurse's role in a local hospital, and Young is conducting a cross-cultural test of a psychological *versus* structural interpretation of puberty rites.

Bernard Kirby has received a grant from the Parapsychology Foundation and is investigating aspects of Extra-Sensory Perception.

Irving Tebor has completed a demographic study of San Diego County for the Community Welfare Council of San Diego.

**University of Southern California.** Thomas E. Lasswell has joined the Department as Associate Professor. He will assume some of the editorial responsibilities of *Sociology and Social Research*.

Bessie A. McClenahan, Emerita Professor of Sociology, has received the Alumni Distinctive Service Award from Drake University.

Dennis McElrath, Visiting Assistant Professor, has been awarded a Fulbright Fellowship for study at the University of Rome.

Harvey J. Locke has returned to the campus after a sabbatical leave.

Fred J. Shanley has been appointed Senior Research Associate on the Youth Studies Project.

Georges Sabagh and Maurice D. Van Arsdol, Jr., have received a two-year grant from the National Science Foundation for the study of demographic factors in the growth of selected urban sub-areas in the United States and a three-year grant from the Haynes Foundation for research on socio-psychological factors in intrametropolitan mobility in Los Angeles County.

Harold A. Nelson has received a John Randolph and Dora Haynes Foundation Research Fellowship.

Harold G. Hubbard, Instructor of Sociology at Los Angeles State College, and Woodrow Wilson Scott, Associate Professor of Sociology at George Pepperdine College, are visiting lecturers.

The Department is offering a graduate training program in demography and ecology. Research assistantships in these areas are now available for 1960-1961.

Thomas E. Lasswell, Edward C. McDonagh, Georges Sabagh, and Maurice D. Van Arsdol, Jr., have received research grants from the University Faculty Research and Publication Fund for the year 1959-1960.

**Washington University, at St. Louis.** The following persons have joined the staff this school year: Alvin W. Gouldner, formerly of the University of Illinois, as Chairman of the Department and Research Professor of Sociology in the Social Science Institute; John W. Bennett, formerly of Ohio State University, as Associate Professor of Anthropology; Gregory P. Stone, formerly of the University of Missouri, as Assistant Professor of Sociology; Doyle Kent Rice, formerly of the University of Illinois, as Lecturer in Sociology.

The Social Science Institute, directed by Nicholas J. Demerath, is engaged in research and training in the following areas: international conflict and peace; urbanism and regional studies; health and medical affairs; deviant behavior and social control;

industrial behavior; ethnic relations; and small groups. Gouldner has been awarded an SSRC Auxiliary Research grant; Robert L. Hamblin has received a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health for continuation of his research on adolescent behavior, and Keith Miller, formerly of the University of Illinois, has been appointed as his research associate. Joseph A. Kahl has been promoted to Associate Professor of Sociology. He is on leave of absence as Research Sociologist attached to the Latin American Research Center for the Social Sciences, sponsored by UNESCO, based in Rio de Janeiro. David J. Pittman and Albert F. Wessen are departmental representatives in an interdisciplinary training program in community mental health leading to the doctor's degree.

The Department has been awarded four NDEA fellowships in support of its developing program in Organizational Analysis and Industrial Sociology.

**Washington State University.** Norman A. Scotch has returned to the Department after a two-year leave of absence conducting anthropological research in the Union of South Africa, which was supported primarily by the United States Public Health Service.

Edward Gross has returned from a year's sabbatical leave in Israel where he conducted research on the problems of integrating immigrants from Asian and North African countries into large Israeli factories.

Peter Garabedian has been appointed Acting Instructor in Sociology, replacing James F. Short, who is on leave to serve as Director of the Street Corner Group Research Program at the University of Chicago; Ivan Nye has been appointed Editor of *Marriage and Family Living*; Joel B. Montague is serving on the Governor's Expenditures Council; John D. Lillywhite has been granted leave of absence to serve on the State Board of Prison Terms and Paroles; and Evelyn Perry Montague has been

appointed lecturer in social work in Lillywhite's absence.

**Western Michigan University.** The Center for Sociological Research, founded in 1957, has completed two projects, a study of migrant education in southwest Michigan, financed by the U. S. Office of Education and under the direction of Jerome Manis, and a study of integrated housing in Kalamazoo, financed by the Kalamazoo Foundation and under the direction of Chester Hunt. Currently, the Center has under way two community studies of mental health, one among Michigan Indians, under the direction of Robert Maher, and the other in the Kalamazoo community, under the direction of Jerome Manis. Both of these projects are financed under grants from the National Institute of Mental Health.

Roy Rodgers, from the University of Minnesota, and James Schellenberg, from Kansas University, have joined the staff.

Jerome Manis is on leave to serve as a lecturer in sociology at Silliman University in the Philippines on a Fulbright grant. Robert Maher has received a Fulbright appointment for anthropological research in the Philippines.

**Western Reserve University.** A Research and field study oriented workshop on "Intergroup Relations" for social science majors, social workers, teachers, and workers in various community organizations will be offered from June 20 to July 30, 1960, directed by Marvin B. Sussman, John B. Turner, Eleanor K. Caplan, and Gladys Kuoksa. The workshop will be limited to forty students who qualify for graduate study. Some scholarships are available, donated by the National Conference of Christians and Jews. Inquiries and registrations should be directed to Roland J. Hins, Director of Admissions, Western Reserve University, Cleveland 6, Ohio.



## BOOK REVIEWS

*Political Power and Social Theory: Six Studies.*

By BARRINGTON MOORE, JR. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958. xi, 215 pp. \$4.50.

To review a collection of essays is usually a difficult task. In this case the author correctly sub-titles his book *Six Studies*, a description which indicates that he is dealing with different problems. This makes the reviewer's job even tougher. These problems, he suggests, actually can be reduced to three related ones: first, the extent to which valid generalizations can be made about any aspect of society "without being merely trite and pompous." The second related problem deals with the "limitations and possibilities of a generalized science . . . based on the models of natural science." And the final problem deals with the task of evaluating social trends.

The book is a contribution to the growing polemic between those who believe that sociology should best follow in the footsteps of some of the more formal social sciences, such as economics and psychology, or the natural sciences in its basic theory and methodology, and those who see sociology primarily as the discipline which seeks to generalize about historical societies, implying a broadly comparative perspective. In a real sense, these essays by Professor Moore are a much more serious and dignified version of the argument against system theory and rigid quantitative methodology which C. Wright Mills has developed more shrilly in his *Sociological Imagination*. The virulence and bad taste of Mills' polemic should not lead us to accept one of a number of erroneous images put forth by Mills, namely that he is almost alone in resisting what he considers to be the dominant trends in American sociology: excessive abstraction and over-preoccupation with esoteric methodology.

Most sociology departments, in fact, are sharply divided intellectually between those who believe in system theory and methodological formalization, and those who see in sociology a field which should basically be content with generalizing about historical trends. On still another level, this is a controversy between the exponents of a functionalist and equilibrium concept of society and those who prefer to view society in dialectical terms as ever changing and in a state of permanent conflict. Or,

one may regard this partially as a debate between those who view sociology as a neutral, apolitical discipline, and those who believe that it must necessarily take political positions, that as an innovating social science it is inherently dangerous to the *status quo*. (These are not necessarily interrelated positions. I would classify myself as a functionalist predominantly concerned with historical and comparative work, and politically involved.) In this book, Moore takes basically the same stance as Mills. He is historical, anti-functionalist, and opposed to political neutrality. It is worth noting that Moore is supported in much of his position by at least four other Harvard sociologists with tenure appointments; at Columbia—perceived by many as another center of functionalism and quantitative, ahistorical sociology—there is considerable agreement with Mills' basic theoretical position (though not with his politics or polemical style) by at least three other important members of the department; at Princeton, where Marion Levy—*bête noir* of critics of excessive abstraction—teaches, there is much disagreement concerning the utility of his theoretical enterprise for sociology; and at my own university, California, a real intellectual division exists between those who support different versions of the functionalist position and those who adhere much more to dialectical and historical concerns. I think that it is important to point up the extent of the division within the field because of the too prevalent notion that American sociology has been captured by the "excessive abstractors" and the "methodological formalists." I would hazard a guess that in fact there is more support for the general conception of sociology held out by Moore and Mills than for those suggested by Parsons, Merton, and Levy, and Lazarsfeld and Stouffer.

*Political Power and Social Theory* is perhaps the most important recent effort to advance the position that all complex social systems must primarily be analyzed historically, and that the analysis of the consequences of specific historical situations is a more important "explanation" of the "system" than is the effort to specify the interrelated functions which the system and its parts serve at any given time. Unlike Mills, who argues for this position but who, as Dennis Wrong has recently pointed

out, is actually ahistorical and non-comparative in his own work, Moore not only presents an intellectual argument but actually follows his own advice. Thus one of the chapters of this book includes a long discussion of "totalitarian elements in pre-industrial societies" in which Moore points out that many aspects of modern totalitarianism existed in different past societies, including the China and India of over 2,000 years ago and the Geneva of Calvin. He also argues that the witchcraft and witch-hunts found in non-literate societies or in the Middle Ages in the West have social roots similar to those of mass persecutions and purges of modern industrial society. Whenever a society confronts a crisis "for which its culture provides no adequate solution," one may expect to find "personalized explanations justifying aggression."

These discussions of the historical parallels of aspects of modern totalitarianism and other contemporary developments are designed to point up the errors made by many sociologists who generalize about supposedly inherent aspects of contemporary society with little except folklore knowledge about the past. Moore has an excellent point in demonstrating the inadequacy of an ahistorical and non-comparative sociology. However, when he moves from this general point to deny the utility of investigations which attempt to locate "the social correlates of democracy, tyranny, class struggle or class peace" on the ground that one can not treat "the significant facts of history . . . [as] aggregates," that one must be primarily concerned with the study of process, the way in "which one social structure passes into the other," he vastly overstates his case.

Moore is, in fact, too good a sociologist really to heed his own criticisms, for he, himself, repeatedly formulates the kinds of generalizations against which he argues. He suggests, for example, that dictatorial institutions are most likely to develop as a response to a major threat which sharply disrupts going institutions, and then he points up the value of such a general statement as a guide to historical case study by saying "it would be interesting . . . to search for historical cases in which repressive institutions or doctrines did *not* develop in response to an internal or external threat." (Emphasis in original.) Elsewhere Professor Moore tells us that "periods of rapid change favor the rise of either nationalist or egalitarian movements with comprehensive philosophies . . . [which] are likely to develop totalitarian features," and that such movements attract their clientele "from individuals turned loose upon the world by the destruction of prior social bonds."

Statements such as these argue strongly

against both his depreciation of ahistorical generalization and his critique of efforts to apply statistical concepts to sociological analysis. These hypotheses and many others presented in this book can be subject to explicit quantitative testing, and in fact a recent book, *The Politics of Mass Society* by William Kornhauser, is precisely an effort to present much of the statistical evidence bearing on many of Moore's generalizations.

In this debate between those who would study the "imperatives" inherent in social systems and those who prefer to focus on the sources of specific, often politically or socially significant, patterns of behavior, I feel quite torn. At the risk of being accused of being what Daniel Bell calls a congenital centrist, I suggest there is no need to consider the issue in either-or terms. Systematic theory refers to an attempt to deal with clearly defined social systems, whether groups, organizations, institutions, or societies. Such systems always have histories, and these histories have both unique and common features which vary in their effect upon the contemporary operations of the system. In developing a theory concerning any system, therefore, consideration of historical factors must be included. (It is possible, of course, that some kinds of social systems are far more influenced by their histories than others. Where ideologies are important, as was the case with the German Social Democratic Party, historical allegiances may carry over far longer than any strictly cross-sectional functional theory could explain.)

A given theory is a body of propositions which states what "kind" of system you are dealing with, its relation with external systems, its "parts," and their relationships, and tries to specify the "forces" involved, whether the motivations of individuals, the tensions between various parts, or the contradictions between the particular system and a more general one. Systematic theory in this sense does not involve any assumption of equilibrium, although it does not exclude it either; it merely regards equilibrium as a particular property of some kinds and conditions of systems, to be empirically studied where it may exist.

Appropriate and important tasks for sociologists, in this view, are efforts to specify the functional imperatives inherent in given institutions or social systems, as well as attempts to locate the range of behavior which may occur within the same institution, or the widely different ways in which the same function may be served. Moore, in fact, though denying the utility of the functionalist concept of an "imperative," admits it into his own analysis when he argues that a given sub-system may con-

spire at its own destruction by fulfilling internal functional imperatives that result in its inability to adjust to changes in the larger system of which it is a part. That is, a social system, like an individual, may destroy itself rather than upset its internal logic, or—if it were not a fighting word—equilibrium.

In short, I would agree with Moore that an important task of sociology is to locate generalizations which take into account the fact that all complex social systems are also historical systems and that, as Max Weber strongly argued, historical explanations are crucial if we are to understand the rigidities and flexibilities built into any institution by its history. However, at the same time sociologists must also be involved in the analysis of the "social system" with, if you will, a specification of the ideal-type interrelationships of systems in equilibrium, much as do the biological and physical sciences. Radcliffe-Brown put it well a quarter of a century ago: "One 'explanation' of a social system will be its history, where we know it—the detailed account of how it came to be—what it is and where it is. Another 'explanation' of the same system is obtained by showing . . . that it is a special exemplification of laws of social psychology or social functioning. The two kinds of explanation do not conflict but supplement one other." Amen.

SEYMOUR MARTIN LIPSET

University of California, Berkeley

*Power and Morality: Who shall Guard the Guardians?* By PETER A. SOROKIN and WALTER A. LUNDEEN. Boston: Porter Sargent, 1959. 204 pp. \$3.50.

The first hundred pages of this book present an historical documentation of Lord Acton's famous dictum that "Power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely." Although the statistician will find much to be desired in the statistical techniques employed in this section, the authors themselves acknowledge them as "crude," and claim only that they are "roughly indicative," and, that were the statistical ratios reduced by from ten to fifty times, they would still confirm their central thesis. This, in summary, is that "when measured by the same stick, the moral behavior of ruling groups tends to be more criminal than that of the ruled population in the same society; and that with a progressive limitation of the power of the rulers and executives their criminality tends to decrease in frequency [and gravity]."

Although in certain cases this power has become sufficiently limited by constitutional and legal controls based on civic intelligence and

a powerful and well integrated public opinion to decrease the criminality of these classes to a level equal to, and occasionally lower than, that of the rank and file of the gainfully employed, it remains true that the comparatively small circle of the world's population who have direct control of the instruments of political, military, and economic power are too lacking in social wisdom and moral integrity to be entrusted with the momentous decisions upon which the destiny of mankind depends.

How, then, shall we guard the guardians? Since power tends to corrupt, the first temporary emergency measure must be to limit the destructive power of existing governments by total multilateral disarmament, and to bring the extra-legal autocratic power of economic groups of both capital and labor under control by due process of law based on competent scientific findings. These limitations, however, must not be so drastic as to leave mankind without adequate police protection on both the international and domestic levels.

In the long run these emergency measures must be supplemented by the reconstruction of mankind's systems of values, culture, and institutions, chiefly by replacing compulsory and coercive methods by familistic relationships and free contractual agreements. Although on the surface the contemporary trends seem to be in the direction of more cynical, coercive, and totalitarian power systems, the authors maintain that deeper underlying counter-trends are appearing and gaining in strength. This part of the volume is a popular summary of the senior author's published works emanating from the Harvard Research Center in Creative Altruism during the past decade, to which these chapters are largely footnoted. No competent critique of this section can therefore be undertaken without extensive reference to these volumes.

HOWARD E. JENSEN

Duke University

*The Soviet Citizen: Daily Life in a Totalitarian Society.* By ALEX INKELES and RAYMOND A. BAUER. Assisted by DAVID GLEICHER and IRVING ROSOW. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959. xx, 533 pp. \$10.00.

The volume under review (Number 35 of the Harvard Russian Research Center Studies) is an attempt to give a portrait of Soviet society as it was around 1940, on the basis of a careful and thoughtful analysis and interpretation of interview and questionnaire data collected by the Research Center from Soviet refugees in 1950–1951. It is a sequel to the well known volume, *How the Soviet System Works* (1956),

by Clyde Kluckhohn and the two present authors. The new volume is superior in that full documentation is offered and a more acceptable manner of presentation is employed. (The earlier one tried to grasp Soviet reality from unusual—and often artificial—points of view.)

The results of the analysis are presented in Chapters IV through XV, while the first three chapters are devoted to a methodological introduction, the main purpose of which is to explain the use, in 1959, of data referring to 1940, despite all the tremendous events and changes which have occurred over the past twenty years. The final chapter, "The Future of Soviet Society," is an attempt to predict the future on the basis of the assumption that contemporary Russia is a field where two forces operate—one inherent in totalitarian society, the other characteristic of modern industrial society. As might be expected, the prediction remains rather indeterminate. Most of the chapters forming the core of the book begin with surveys of particular aspects of the development of Soviet society prior to 1940, and end with brief surveys of most recent developments. The latter are based on contemporary literature as well as on impressions formed by the authors during brief trips to the USSR in 1956 and 1957, and from conversations with a large number of other recent visitors.

The authors' findings cannot be summarized in detail here, but they investigated such areas as occupational stratification and mobility, the ways of making a living, getting an education, keeping up with the news, selecting mates and friends, rearing children, the attitudes of various socioeconomic and other groups toward the Welfare State and economic and political institutions, the sources of hostility and disaffection, the sources of cleavage (class, party-nonparty, and nationality). The question of nationality has been handled wisely by dealing with the differential attitudes of the Russians and the Ukrainians, for the number of informants of other nationalities was not sufficient to support reliable conclusions.

Since the authors are well aware that their sample is not representative, they have concentrated their attention on the differential attitudes of various groups and categories. Thus, for instance, they do not say anything about the *absolute* degree of hostility to the regime, but establish that hostility consistently increases as one goes down the social ladder.

The authors have found that there are certain aspects of the Soviet regime which are generally accepted: the educational system, socialized medicine, and the wide scope of coverage provided by the social security system. There are also widely detested aspects,

primarily what the authors call "the Stalin system of social control." There is, they say, little class antagonism, but a deep cleavage between party and nonparty men. They conclude that access to education does not vary significantly between Russians and Ukrainians, that the attitudes of the Russians and Ukrainians toward the Welfare State do not differ, that only a small proportion of Russians and Ukrainians objects to marriage across the ethnic line. This does not mean, however, that there is no Ukrainian national sentiment or no separatism. Unfortunately, the investigation of this problem did not yield very conclusive results since it used as a frame of reference the antagonism between the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church and the Synodal Church (that is, the Ukrainian branch of the Moscow Patriarchate). In general, the problem of religion has been rather neglected.

In the reviewer's opinion, this volume is one of the best and most enlightening studies of Soviet society. Of course, it deals with it as it was in 1940. But a solid static account of Stalin's Russia is an indispensable requisite to the understanding of today's trends, just as solid knowledge about prerevolutionary Russia (which, alas, more often than not has been conspicuous by its absence) was and is essential for the study and understanding of the development of Russia during the first quarter century of Communist rule.

N. S. TIMASHEFF

*Fordham University*

*Soviet Marxism: A Critical Analysis.* By HERBERT MARCUSE. New York: Columbia University Press, 1958. 271 pp. \$4.50.

This book examines Soviet Marxism as a coherent system of thought that attempts to comprehend both Marxism and a world situation that Marx never foresaw. The author argues that the principles of Marxism are built into the very foundations of the Soviet regime and that ideological pronouncements therefore have a meaning and a function beyond that of cynical manipulation, for which purpose the trappings of Marxism might well be an encumbrance and an embarrassment. The outlook of Soviet Marxism has been, however, inevitably molded by the circumstances in which the Soviet regime has found itself. Of these, the fact that the socialist revolution occurred in backward Russia has been less important than the unforeseen "adjustment" and stabilization of capitalism in the industrialized West and the abdication of the proletariat from its revolutionary role. It is awareness of this "adjustment," never explicitly acknowledged, in ten-



sion with fundamental Marxian concepts, that spans all the many shifts in the party line from Lenin to Khrushchev with a remarkable overall consistency. What Marx called the "real" interests of the working class (as opposed to its "immediate" interests) have been hypostatized by Soviet Marxism in the Soviet state. The Soviet state has replaced the international proletariat as the protagonist of the socialist revolution, and this has resulted not, as Lenin put it, in the transfer of the class struggle to an international plane, but in a "struggle between states for populations and spaces," in Marcuse's words.

At the moment, the struggle is at an impasse. Every aggressive move on the part of the Soviet Union seems to consolidate the Western powers more effectively and prevent the dissolution of capitalism. Soviet successes in the underdeveloped areas of the world do not immediately or decisively alter the situation. It is the industrialized nations that count, and against them, the risks of military aggression are too formidable. The "socialist future" depends on a reactivation of the class struggle in the West. On the assumption that it is not immediately forthcoming, a long-range policy of "coexistence" is based. The object of "coexistence" is, in the realm of foreign policy, to knock the prop of military production and a consolidated international economy from under the capitalist West, while completing "the transition from socialism to communism" in the Soviet Union. In Marxist terms this transition takes place when productivity is sufficiently developed so that distribution may take place according to the needs of the individuals, and the administration of things replace the government of men; or, in Stalin's terms (which completely transform the Marxist meaning) when the working day can be reduced to five or six hours and real wages doubled. The dissolution of capitalism will begin when the Soviet Union has demonstrably outstripped the West in productivity.

The rapid increase of productivity in the Soviet Union has been achieved by the Soviet state through an unprecedentedly systematic application of repression against the "needs of the individuals," either in the form of naked terror, or through propaganda and exhortation whereby the individual is induced to become his own Minister of the Interior. In the present phase of coexistence, terror has given way to persuasion. Since the increasing tempo of international competition, as well as the expectations aroused by relaxation, make a return to terror impractical, the success of the regime depends on its ability to make "the individuals" inter-

nalize the norms of a productivity-ethics, which is fundamentally an ethics of repression.

Whether this internalization will be accomplished is, of course, problematic. Marcuse does not feel, as Isaac Deutscher does, that Soviet successes in the realm of productivity will in themselves (in the given Marxist context) shatter the repressive aspects of the regime. He is not that literal a Marxist. He does, however, associate Marxism with that humanistic tradition of the West that seeks the fullest possible self-realization of the individual for his own sake, and though he ruthlessly demonstrates how Marxism has been transformed into a doctrine that aims at a kind of built-in repression, he is not without hope that the liberating features of Marxism may again assert themselves. The dimness of this hope derives from the world situation of antagonism between two enormous power blocs.

In contrast to the sanguine utopianism of his previous book, *Eros and Civilization*, in which Marcuse saw modern industrial production as having created the conditions for liberation of the deepest self without detriment to civilization, and in which he dazzlingly celebrated the marriage of Marx and Freud, the conclusions he points to in *Soviet Marxism* are rather bleak. The longer the Soviet Union and the West remain at odds, the more their development is determined by their antagonistic relationship; and the more they come to resemble each other, Marcuse brings the best insights of his masters (Hegel, Marx, Freud) to bear on his analysis of Soviet Marxism, and the result is a dense, eloquent, and convincing book, demonstrating that what these masters revealed of human possibilities is *not* about to be accomplished in the modern world.

SIDNEY MONAS

Smith College

*Osnovi Sociologije.* By RADOMIR LUKIC. Beograd: Savez Udruzenija Pravnika Jugoslavije, 1959. 380 pp. 400 Din.

In English, the title means *Principles of Sociology*. The author, professor on the law faculty in Belgrade and one of the leading members of the International Sociological Society, begins with the traditional attempt to define the place of sociology in regard to other social sciences and natural science. Most interesting for the reader, however, is his differentiation of sociology from Marxism. He maintains that historical materialism is nothing but another theory of society; furthermore, he points out that the theory is not sufficiently elaborated and tied to the manifoldness of social phenomena (p. 66). Quoting Lenin, he

stresses that Lenin also differentiated between historical materialism and sociology as a science (p. 67). Having surveyed in broad general terms some sociological methods of research, Dr. Lukic then presents a short history of sociology and introduces the reader to sociological analysis in four parts: (1) social phenomena; (2) layers of social phenomena; (3) social system; and (4) social dynamics. While in the first three parts he uses more or less the same concepts used by sociologists in the West, the part concerning social dynamics is mostly an interpretation of the Marxist theory of evolution.

Thus, characteristically, the book shows a critical and independent attitude toward the Marxist theory as well as its acceptance in other instances. However, there is no direct "political" criticism of the Western sociology from the Marxist viewpoint (found, for example, in the Bulgarian publication, *Historical Materialism and Sociology*, by Oshakov, Sofia, 1958). The three more contemporary sociological sections stand somewhat unrelated to the fourth "evolutionary" part, reminding one of the 19th century treatises (or anticipating a revival of interest in evolutionary theories?). From this viewpoint, Dr. Lukic's book is also interesting for the student of the sociology of science—more specifically, the sociology of sociology. However, compared with other writings on sociology in communist countries, the text reads well and unhesitatingly gives credit to sociology as a scientific field.

JIRI KOLAJA

University of Kentucky

*Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society.*  
By RALF DAHRENDORF. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1959. xvi, 336 pp. \$6.50.

This book, originally published in German under the title *Soziale Klassen und Klassenkonflikt in der industriellen Gesellschaft*, was reviewed by the present writer in the October, 1958, issue of the *American Sociological Review* (pp. 592-93). It has now been revised, expanded, and translated into English by the author himself. This unusual but highly commendable procedure has produced felicitous results: the English is so good that one readily agrees with the author's statement that this revised version was in fact "written in English" rather than merely translated. I am not inclined, however, to agree with his further claim "that it is a completely new book." Although the revisions are fairly extensive, they consist primarily of further elaborations of a theory which remains unchanged in substance. I therefore feel that the critical strictures of my

previous review fully apply to the English edition as well. Since Dahrendorf's formal model defines classes as conflict groups within any kind of power structure, he can in all seriousness speak of a factional feud within a chess club as a class conflict! (p. 221). As a class theory, I find this inadequate. To me, the traditional concept of classes as historically conditioned collectivities, separated by hereditary inequality and social continuity through several generations, still appears indispensable for any realistic analysis of class structures and class conflicts.

In reading the revised version it becomes increasingly clear, however, that despite its title the contribution of this book is not at all to the theory of classes but to the theory of social conflict. As such it has considerable merit indeed. Dahrendorf distinguishes two different models of sociological theory: (1) an integration theory which conceives of social structure as a functionally integrated system held in equilibrium by certain patterned and recurrent processes, and (2) a coercion or conflict theory which views social structure as held together by force and constraint, characterized by ubiquitous conflicts which result in continuous change. The two models are not mutually exclusive but complementary. Each deals with a different aspect of the same social reality.

Believing that the integration theory, under the leadership of Parsons, has unduly dominated the field in recent years, Dahrendorf sets out to restore the balance by emphasizing the role of conflict and change. Pointing out that conflict is not only ubiquitous but necessary and therefore "good" and "desirable," he develops the beginnings of a systematic theory of conflict which pushes at least several steps beyond any previous conceptualizations. This definitely enhances our understanding of the problems of conflict in industrial society. I personally regret that he has seen fit to designate conflict groups as classes, thereby unnecessarily obfuscating the study of social stratification, but there is no question that he is on the right track in his efforts to develop a conflict theory of society as a necessary counterpart of the one-sided views of the integration theorists. This brilliantly written and highly original work makes stimulating reading.

Brown University

KURT B. MAYER

*The Motivation to Work.* By FREDERICK HERZBERG, BERNARD MAUSNER, and BARBARA BLOCH SNYDERMAN. Second Edition, New York: John Wiley & Sons; London: Chapman & Hall, Ltd., 1959. xv, 157 pp. \$4.50.

Are people at work able to formulate and express forcefully those attitudes originating as

a result of their experiences while on the job? If so, then this study, which depends upon the reportorial ability of respondents to communicate their reactions to interviewers, merits commendation for both its study design and the execution of that design. Its universe consisted of 200 employees, engineers, and accountants in some ten industrial steel concerns in the Pittsburgh area and one utility company.

The major intent of the study was to derive information about individual work experiences of the interviewees, largely through the technique of content analysis of the stories gathered. The categories of analysis were made by an *a posteriori* approach, being extracted from the materials and labeled "thought units." Job attitude factors were grouped by the investigators into first- and second-level factors. The first-level factors were those from which the respondent derived his "feelings" and were coded as pertaining to: recognition, achievement, possibility of growth, advancement, salary, interpersonal relations, responsibility, company policy and administration, working conditions, the work itself, factors in personal life affecting the job, status, and job security. The second-level factors pertained to feelings themselves.

The results of the study are reported under three general headings: (1) factors leading to positive and negative attitudes toward the job; (2) the effect of these attitudes on job performance and satisfactions; and (3) the factors which make for happiness and for unhappiness on a differential level as between engineers and accountants. The basic sources of satisfaction—recognition, achievement, advancement, responsibility, and work itself—appeared with greater frequency in the high than in the low sequences of events and of these, work itself, responsibility, and advancement stand out as the major factors in producing high job attitudes. On the other side, company policy, administration, supervision, and working conditions were the major sources of job dissatisfaction. The response to salary indicated that it had more potency as a reason for dissatisfaction than for satisfaction. When it appeared as a factor in the lows, it was related to the unfairness of a company's wage system; as a factor in the highs, it meant recognition and progress in work.

From the study emerge such statements as: job attitudes are forceful and meaningful in their relationship to productivity, stability, and adjustment; the positive effects of attitudes formed by the "satisfiers" are more potent than the negative effects of attitudes formed by the "dissatisfiers." The authors believe that they have shown that better motivation might result if some jobs were restructured so as to

increase the maximum ability of workers to achieve meaningfully related goals, and if the creative push for some workers capable of controlling their own work tasks were made freer. Further testing of a larger universe of workers on lower levels is needed to confirm the findings.

MELVIN J. VINCENT

*University of Southern California*

*Social Structure and Personality in the Factory.*

By PAUL LAFITTE. New York: Macmillan Co., 1958. 228 pp. \$3.75.

This study, by a psychologist at the University of Melbourne, is an attempt to identify the grounds on which judgments of work satisfaction or dissatisfaction are made by factory workers and to interpret these grounds in terms of their psychological "coherence" and "intelligibility." The study is based largely on 127 biographical interviews obtained in seven Melbourne factories in 1951 and 1952. Lafitte explores relationships between satisfaction in each of four areas of the work situation—task, pay, bosses, and mates—and a variety of job conditions in these areas. In addition, more remote worker perceptions, opinions, evaluations, and reported experiences are examined concerning childhood family relations, occupational history, the class order, union membership and activity, political affiliation, involvement in family affairs, leisure activities, and future prospects. These are related separately and in combination to judgments of the work situation in the four areas of work.

Some of the findings are familiar, such as the positive association between satisfaction and the job attributes of cleanliness, completeness, and the cooperative practices of bosses. However, relations with workmates shows up as a relatively minor consideration and this is attributed to the "less demanding" nature of these relations. Political and trade union opinions and activities are found not to matter much, but the individual's acceptance or rejection of his perceived place in society is relevant. The "personality" grounds (as represented in the worker's general view of the trustworthiness of others, view of the past and of the future, and hierarchy of personal values) make a difference but are not regarded as being as important as other grounds.

This reconstruction is a painstaking and sustained effort, if highly speculative. Lafitte does not make clear on what theoretical grounds he makes his own judgments of what is psychologically intelligible. The lack of adequate random sampling severely limits the value of the investigation.

RICHARD R. MYERS

*Oberlin College*

*Relations humaines et relations industrielles.* By MARCEL BOLLE DE BAL. Préface de ARTHUR DOUCY. Bruxelles: Institut de Sociologie Solvay, 1958. vi, 137 pp. 140 FB., paper.

*Proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Meeting: Industrial Relations Research Association, Chicago, December 28-29, 1958.* Edited by GERALD G. SOMERS. Madison, Wis.: The Association, 1959. ix, 310 pp. \$3.50, paper.

There is much of interest for the industrial sociologist in each of these books. The *Proceedings* of the Industrial Relations Research Association contains reports of empirical research and theoretical analysis in several areas of concern to industrial sociology. Of particular worth are sections on automation, the value of industrial and human relations research to labor and management leaders, the value of research in industry to social scientists, wage theory and practice, the value of education in industrial and human relations, and the role of law in the control of internal affairs. A Presidential address by E. Wight Bakke is included.

De Bal's work is a theoretical analysis of the interconnections of the discipline and programs of human relations and industrial relations. Human relations are defined as those social relations which arise in the course of work conducted in common, and are of a psychological and social-psychological order; industrial relations comprise the relations between management and workers as a whole, whether organized or not. De Bal states that researchers often have confused these two, with the result that problems in industrial relations have been treated as problems in human relations. This means that human relations studies and programs typically have been oriented to the needs and interests of either labor or management in the course of their inevitable conflicts. Since management is usually stronger than labor and, at any rate, controls the funds needed for research as well as access to the data, human relations programs have generally been oriented to the needs and interests of management. But this does not mean that human relations studies and programs are inherently a managerial sociology or managerial program. It does mean that unbiased and effective human relations studies and programs can be conducted only when there is an equality of power between management and labor, that is, when labor is organized into effective trade unions. It is only in a situation of equality of power that management and labor will agree to genuinely scientific studies both of the relations between them and of ways to achieve certain common ends. Even more, the situation

of an equality of power is the only one consonant with democratic ideals, and therefore the only one to which the social scientist can give his support as a humanist and humanitarian.

It is interesting to note that some of the points made in the *Proceedings* of the Industrial Relations Research Association are in agreement with those made by de Bal. For instance, in reviewing the history of labor-management relations during the last twelve years, E. W. Bakke says, "the contacts which leaders [of management and labor] have with each other tend inevitably to focus on points of disagreement between them. And these disagreements are honest and deep-seated ones over objectives and ideas of how to reach them held by people who manage and people who are managed, held by people who have to meet a payroll and those whose livelihood depends on being on that payroll. Such disagreements can be reduced or compromised but not removed."

Evidence of a basic split in the interests of management and labor can be found as well in other sections of this report. In discussing automation, James Stern of the United Automobile Workers raises the issue of who is to benefit from the increased productivity made possible by automation. The section on wage theory and practice, and even the section devoted to the appraisal of education in human and industrial relations, are redolent of certain inherent incompatibilities between those who manage and those who labor. There is also some agreement in the two volumes concerning types of programs on which management and labor might unite. De Bal stresses the "increase of production" as one end, and Bakke mentions the reduction of cost and waste, automation, even the maintenance of full employment. It is in such areas that de Bal, at least, sees room for the use of human relations programs and studies.

Given de Bal's assumptions, does his "solution" offer a genuine hope of an unbiased science of human relations? The answer to this question depends on whether one believes that an equality of power between management and labor necessarily leads to a spirit of cooperation rather than, say, to one of heightened conflict or "antagonistic cooperation" (to use Bakke's term). But what reason is there to assume that equality of power would necessarily lead to the former rather than the latter? And given the present situation in the United States, where there exists a powerful management and a powerful labor, there is even less reason for optimism. Thus while one can not help but be impressed with the clarity with which de Bal has stated the issues facing industrial



sociology, this reviewer at least is much less impressed with the solution that he offers.

EUGENE V. SCHNEIDER

Bryn Mawr College

*L'Automation: ses conséquences humaines et sociales.* By MAURICE RUSTANT. Paris: Les Editions Ouvrières, 1959. 135 pp. No price indicated, paper.

*Automation: Its Impact on Business and Labor.*

By JOHN DIEBOLD. National Planning Association Pamphlet No. 106. Washington, D. C.: The Association, 1959. ix, 64 pp. \$1.00, paper.

*Automation and Society.* Edited by HOWARD BOONE JACOBSON and JOSEPH S. ROUCEK. New York: Philosophical Library, 1959. 553 pp. \$10.00.

The hubbub may have died down, but the process of automation continues to work its effects on industrial society with or without the attention of journalists and social scientists. The value of Maurice Rustant's small book is that it neatly summarizes the important controversies concerning the definitions and significance of this new phenomenon (which some say is not new), and the developments in the United States, Great Britain, France, and to some extent, the Soviet Union.

For France in particular, which has, to its credit, established a Bureau for the Study of Automation, automation is a great challenge, since that country has long been one of the backward industrial countries of the Occident. The Common Market has been one of the stimulants spurring French industry to overcome its retardative traditionalism. Fourastié's recent *Revolutions à l'Ouest* is an example on the intellectual level of the growing recognition among the French of the need for modernization in industry and commerce.

One-third of Rustant's volume is devoted to the social and human consequences of automation, including its impact on size and structure of the labor force, occupational skills, working conditions, job satisfaction, and the nature of leisure. He discusses the pessimistic views of Frederick Pollock, of the Netherlands, and the optimistic ones of John Diebold, one of the early American zealots of automation, as regards its effects on unemployment. In evaluating such predictions or maledictions, account must be taken also of the size and quality of the generations newly entering the labor market, and not merely the reduction in manpower required for the production of a given number of units, or the rate of increase in demand for a given product.

The relatively greater resistance to mobility among French workers is cited as one of the

difficulties involved in the industrial changes brought about by automation. Nevertheless, there has been, as in other industrial societies, a gradual diminution of the unskilled manual working class. Concerning the issue of the disappearance of the skilled worker, Rustant discusses the statement by Alain Touraine, in his study of the Renault plant, that "The pessimism of certain students probably derives above all from the fact that they do not find in the modern factories the type of skilled workers called traditional and which is only a myth projecting into industry certain traits which are carefully selected from some artisan handicrafts."

Although automation has eliminated a great deal of physical effort and fatigue, a new form of fatigue is taking up the attention of industrial medicine, namely, psychic fatigue. Automation, according to Gass of Great Britain, calls for a great deal of "perceptual" attention in the case of semi-automatic machines, while completely automatic operations require "conceptual" aptitudes—in other words, headaches instead of backaches. Furthermore, as Friedmann has pointed out in his *Travail en Miettes*, automation will still call for a great deal of boredom-creating, repetitive and subdivided (*parcelaire*) tasks, unless job-enlargement is expanded.

Rustant carefully weighs the various alternatives to the shorter work week, such as longer vacations, and the lowering of the age of retirement, and raises the question of the "grave psychological repercussions when the cessation of occupational activity comes too soon. It can even be resented by the individual as a downright disgrace." He warns that "any measure aimed at lowering the retirement age requires some mature reflection." In summary, Rustant's work is to be commended.

The booklet, *Automation: Its Impact on Business and Labor*, was written by John Diebold for the NPA and its Committee on Automation which includes labor and management representatives. The organization of the statement is similar to that of Rustant's volume. For Diebold, automation is more than the mere extension of mechanization. "It is a new way of organizing and analyzing production, a concern with the production processes as a system, and a consideration of each element as part of the system." In this brief essay of some 60 pages, he describes the recent developments in automation, and presents a framework for a detailed study of automation which he feels should be undertaken for the purpose of providing a blueprint for intelligent planning, as well as for the purpose of reducing "many of the irrational fears that have been raised by

those wishing to use the specter of a machine-dominated society to further certain old and well-established movements." He, too, summarizes the controversies concerning the economic and social consequences. Social scientists should welcome his suggestions for further research.

Unfortunately, there is little, if any, mention of the role of government in meeting some of the consequences. After all, automation has resulted, directly and indirectly, in some displacement which affects different parties to different degrees. Such problems are cited by Jack Conway of the UAW (a member of the NPA committee) in a dissenting footnote to the Committee statement (pp. vii-viii).

The volume by Jacobson and Roucek is an excellent collection of 32 articles and a 70-page summary of a number of short case histories of automation in the United States and Canada, excerpted from a British report of 1959. The articles range from essays and research summaries by engineers to discussions by economists, sociologists, and Congressional staffs. It is impossible to review adequately such a range in the space of this review. The topics include those studies by Faunce in a Detroit plant undergoing transition from non-automation to automation operations; automation in the post office; accountancy; the script of the Murrow-Friendly "See It Now" show of June, 1957; social stratification; and the problems of automation in the USSR. In brief, the anthology belongs on the well-used shelf of every industrial sociologist.

HAROLD L. SHEPPARD

U. S. Senate Labor and Public  
Welfare Committee

*Automation Cybernetics and Society.* By F. H. GEORGE. New York: Philosophical Library, 1959. 283 pp. \$10.00.

The big problem posed by this book, and not fathomed by this reviewer, is "Why was the book written?" In an introduction, titled "The Argument," the author tells us that he aims to treat automation as "part of the process of scientific planning . . ."; he also states that "The point of view adopted is essentially that of the social scientist and logician who is interested in humanity first and last . . ."; and he suggests how the book may be read, but he does not state for whom or why the book was written.

On page 120 he states that "this book does not aim to present an account of servo-systems for engineers. . . ." The summary treatments found in the chapters on "Cybernetics and Psychology," "Cybernetics and Physiology," and

"The Philosophical Problem of the Machine," lead us to assume that these were not written, respectively, for psychologists, physiologists, and philosophers. Several of the chapters, particularly those on "Communication Theory" and "Servo-Systems," contain more detail than the layman would want and not enough for the specialist. Possibly the specialist in any one of these fields would profit from reading about the others, but this reviewer suspects that he would already be acquainted with the points treated.

The book jacket throws some light on the question by stating that "It is not a text intended for specialists in any field for it is primarily aimed to clarify this important problem not only for the scientists, but for the executive and the layman." This is in the nature of an explanation after the fact and leaves us wondering if one can write at the same level for scientists and laymen.

Social scientists who seek to gain a bird's eye view of automation and cybernetics by reading this book will find many questionable or inaccurate statements regarding their disciplines. "Anthropology is concerned with the study of primitive peoples, in so far as they represent different stages of the development of civilized peoples" (p. 209). "It is quite clear that there has been in the past a steady tendency to evolve from the unplanned to the planned society. Each century, up to the present, has seen progressively more of the direct influence of organization and standardization" (p. 12). ". . . we are thinking of physiology and psychology as being essentially the same subject" (p. 164). "Social workers include the parish priest, the probation officer, and local marriage guidance counsellors, as well as social psychologists, industrial psychologists, and psychiatrists. We shall refer to such people collectively as social psychologists or merely psychologists" (p. 221).

Sociologists will be surprised to read that group behavior "is directly derived from our study of individual behavior" (p. 225) and that "The group, as a group, has been fairly extensively studied by anthropologists, sociologists, zoologists, and psychologists, but *nothing is available in the way of systematic analyses and classifications*" (p. 240; *italics mine*).

The author is much concerned with the question of whether machines can be constructed which can do anything that men can do. In his efforts to support a positive answer, he extends the meaning of "machine" by saying that they may be built of protoplasm and finally states, "By a machine, we have got to mean something that we as human beings, can ourselves construct, other than by the normal

methods of biological reproduction" (p. 217). This extension begs the question and turns our thoughts to recent laboratory experiments in parthenogenesis. All in all, this book threatens to produce more confusions than clarifications.

JOHN B. KNOX

*The University of Tennessee*

*New Foundations for Industrial Sociology.* By MELVIN J. VINCENT and JACKSON MAYERS. Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1959. vii, 456 pp. \$6.00.

As a text book, this is an unusual work. The authors do not merely meander through their subject matter. Instead, they are firm and often passionate in expounding their points of view. The reader is confronted by provocative formulations rather than commonplaces and abstruse abstractions. The language is clear and communicative; there is little of the private technical jargon that so frequently frightens the novice.

More specifically, as a text in industrial sociology the book has much to recommend it. Most of the areas usually included in the field are sufficiently covered, though there might be some justifiable criticism over the lack of detailed attention to such aspects as executive organization and the content of collective bargaining. In contrast to similar volumes, several chapters are devoted to the questions of work motivation and the possible effects of automation.

Our positive evaluation is, however, balanced by many misgivings. The orientation towards a few central themes—the undemocratic character of industrial organization, the alienation of work experience, the work place as part of the larger society, the development of mass society—has, in this instance, produced what appears like an extensive pamphlet. This obviously limits its function as a text. For instance, it may be a legitimate contention that attempts at "democratic management" flounder, but the student should learn something about the nature of such attempts. The writers tend to assume that the reader has a basic grounding in the field. This is particularly manifest in discussions of the Hawthorne studies. To one acquainted with the material, their criticisms of the much-advertized findings and interpretations are refreshing and their data on the later personnel policies of Western Electric are very welcome. But, they never describe the actual research.

In general, the book is poorly organized. It therefore suffers even as an expository work. Ideas do not develop but are fortuitously introduced and incessantly reiterated. As one

example, the psychological principle of the Zeigarnick effect (best understood as "closure") as related to work motivation is casually presented at least three times in different chapters without any indication that it had been previously mentioned. The distinction between functional and substantive rationality is applied in an early chapter, then explained in a later chapter.

The book consists primarily of propositions, rarely elaborated or buttressed and often carelessly combined. *Ad hoc* conjectures are lumped together with substantiated findings and profound theoretical formulations. Bibliographical justification for contentions can come, without any distinction, from extensive research, the intellectual probings of an Erich Fromm, or an Associated Press dispatch. This might be acceptable in journalistic articles or even in some kinds of scholarly papers, but seems very misleading in a text for beginners. One being introduced to the subject will end up thoroughly confused about contributors and contributions to industrial sociology. He will learn little about industrial stratification from a reference to Russell Lynes' quaint "taste" hierarchies. He will become thoroughly bewildered when he subsequently discovers that industrial sociologist William F. Whyte and journalist William H. Whyte, Jr. are not, as the book seems to indicate, the same person.

Since it is a text, we will not emphasize substantive disputes with the authors. However, we must question their application of the notion of mass society to any evidence of formal organization, any development beyond a folk society. Their extreme absorption in the current intellectual *Zeitgeist* vitiates this most seminal concept.

Despite the tenor of the above remarks, the book should be considered a valuable contribution. It does succinctly express ideas which students will readily comprehend. In essence, it is a work which instructors should find very useable if they are prepared to supplement it with their own efforts.

WILLIAM SPINRAD

*Paterson State College*

*An Introduction to Sociological Theory.* By MARGARET WILSON VINE. New York, London, Toronto: Longmans, Green & Co., 1959. xvii, 350 pp. \$4.50.

This "textbook for undergraduate students in sociology . . . offers a brief introduction to sociological theory" by expositions of Comte, Spencer, Ward, Sumner, Tarde, Durkheim, Cooley, Ross, Veblen, Weber, Thomas, Pareto, Sorokin, and Toynbee. Except for the introduc-

tion and conclusion, each chapter considers one individual and is ordinarily arranged in five major sections: (1) biography and writings, (2) influences of other thinkers on the theorist, (3) his frame of reference, (4) his theory, and (5) summary and evaluation. Dr. Vine is convinced that certain common problems have confronted social theorists "regardless of the times in which they have lived" and make possible "a continuity in the study of sociological theory. . . ." Consequently, she subdivides the theory section of each chapter into five parts: (a) the person as a social unit, (b) social forces and processes, (c) social structures, (d) persistence of social structures, (e) social change.

The volume appears to possess certain assets that might favor its selection over its present competitors. It is the only current text devoting entire chapters each to Ward, Sumner, Tarde, Cooley, Ross, Thomas, and Sorokin. All theorists are examined comprehensively, systematically, and coherently. Exposition is simple and direct, unencumbered by tortuous circumlocutions, demanding vocabulary, elaborate qualification, and complex sentence structure. It contains few conspicuous barbarisms. References to and designations of sociologists are marred by only a minimum of errors. (Lundberg is still referred to as a departmental chairman, p. 319. Robert Simpson, mentioned on pp. 287 and 338, should be Richard Simpson. Nor could the reviewer ignore the misspelling of a name of life-long familiarity, pp. 331 and 335.)

Intellectual liabilities and difficulties are also apparent in the book. Perhaps the most serious is that the categories for presenting theories are not consistently used and in some instances seem to obstruct rather than facilitate the delineation of continuities and the explication of common presuppositions among the theorists. Some chapters have sections on methodology, others do not, and a few treat the matter in the section on the frame of reference. Despite the use of "influence of others" and "frame of reference" as categories, the basic intellectual and philosophic assumptions unifying a sociological theory are often ignored. Neither the category on "the person as a social unit" nor on "the social forces and processes" consistently divulges the continuities in the conceptions of the nature of human nature and the prevalence of voluntaristic preconceptions. And even the recurrence of progress and social evolution did not prompt explicit definitions in the analysis of social change.

A second major source of weakness inheres in the character of the last chapter on contemporary American sociological theory. Since it appears almost to be a contrived addendum, it

can scarcely be regarded as an adequate intellectual basis for rigorously using past theories to explain or understand the present state of affairs in theory (p. ix). Furthermore, its characterization of the present consensus in sociological theory entails inconsistency and confusion. (See, for example, the invalidating consequence of the Tardean qualification of the alleged domination of the contemporary conception of social phenomena by Durkheim's notion of social facts, p. 329. Note also that Mead's and Cooley's views may possibly be misinterpreted as incorporating Tarde's imitation, p. 329.)

ROSCOE C. HINKLE, JR.

*The Ohio State University*

*Social Theories of Fertility and the Malthusian Debate.* By D. E. C. EVERSOLEY. New York, London: Oxford University Press, 1959. ix, 313 pp. \$5.60.

Eversley's book is that rare kind of intellectual history which manages to achieve genuine relevance to the work of contemporary students of population. It appears initially to be simply one more scholarly and erudite addition to the small library of books on the nineteenth century debate over Malthus' views, a worthy companion to earlier volumes by Field, Spengler, Kenneth Smith, Boner, Stassart and others. But it is distinguished from most of these by its success in tracing the history of population theory with reference to a single, central problem: the impact of economic and social conditions on fertility. This gives the book a focus that is narrower and more manageable than the Malthusian argument considered as a whole and one that at the same time is linked more closely to contemporary thinking on the sociology of fertility. The author shows far greater familiarity with current demographic theory than most previous intellectual historians who have written on the subject.

The book begins with a review of the beliefs of eighteenth century writers, many of them drawing on classical sources, that "luxuries," towns, and aristocracies were deterrents to fertility and rapid population growth. Some of the writers cited were fully aware of the existence of rural-urban and class fertility differentials resembling those we are familiar with today and some of them even anticipated contemporary explanations of them. They dealt with the subject statically, however, failing to consider the effects of social mobility and economic growth. After Malthus had raised the specter of overpopulation, many of his critics developed subtle and systematic conceptual distinctions between necessities and



luxuries and argued that rising standards of living and increased social mobility would exorcise the Malthusian devil by bringing about lower fertility. Delayed marriage and abstinence were the chief agencies they had in mind, but their theories were thoroughly sociological and psychological rather than physiological in spirit.

Eversley is judicious on the subject of Malthus: "Animated by the same sort of general benevolence which presumably also animates the modern social scientist, he focused attention on a major social problem and claimed to investigate it scientifically. . . . The true path of science was . . . effectively blocked by the result, because although he did not . . . advocate social policies, his followers adopted them for reasons provided by the study of his works and . . . for a hundred years any debate on Malthus was almost bound to be emotional, political, and unscientific." Eversley concludes nevertheless that he was an important thinker, if only because "it is in fighting Malthus throughout the nineteenth century that the most important discoveries were made," discoveries which "made a contribution to something that forms an integral part of the modern body of theory."

And yet the names of Malthus' critics who stand in the main line of progress in population theory are largely forgotten, while eccentrics and exotics like Doubleday, Sadler, and Spencer, whose views were regarded as curiosities even by most of their contemporaries, are embalmed in introductory textbooks. Does the writing of histories of theory create a bias in favor of stressing diversity and rival "schools," whether in the interest of sheer intellectual variety or as a counterpoint to the presumed unity of opinion in the present? Or is it that the modern social scientist is made uncomfortable by reminders that his views are, after all, not so new and that the errors of a Sadler or even a Malthus were clearly seen by their contemporaries? I am certainly not suggesting that demographers should rush to the library and exhume the faded, unread volumes by Alison, Nassau Senior, Jones, the Laings Major and Minor, *et al.* Perhaps the only good reason why they should even read Malthus is to correct continuing popular and scholarly misconceptions about what he actually said. But they can be least now read Eversley.

Eversley clearly sees that it was not the publication of Malthus' *Essay* but the later "data revolution" that is the true dividing line between the pre-modern and the modern era in the study of population. Comprehensive and accurate censuses and vital statistics, and improved techniques for analyzing them, effec-

tively removed the subject from the realm of speculation and casual empiricism. Even those critics of Malthus who advanced theories of fertility identical with those we hold today wrote with an ideological intent. Eversley makes a solid contribution to the sociology of knowledge in demonstrating how the self-same things—"luxury," urban living, aspirations to rise in the world—that were deplored when a pro-populationist climate of opinion prevailed were transformed into virtues when they could be invoked as solutions to the Malthusian problem.

But perhaps Eversley is too sanguine in minimizing the polemical emotionalism that still invests the subject. Certainly contemporary popular books on questions of population policy are even less objective and intellectually cogent than the treatises of Malthus' more intelligent opponents. Population studies are indeed "basically concerned with primitive instincts—so primitive, so remote and fierce, and yet so near to consciousness, that the objectivity of any human observer must always be in doubt unless he is content to describe facts. . . . The challenge has lain in the ethics [for] the concern with human reproduction, as anthropologists have explained, is at the core of organization in human societies." Modern demographers have increasingly tended to be "content to describe facts." How much longer are they going to allow the policy debate to be pre-empted by the Vogts, the Cooks, and the De Castros?

DENNIS H. WRONG

*Brown University*

*Positivist Thought in France During the Second Empire 1852-1870.* By D. G. CHARLTON. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959. ix, 251 pp. \$5.60.

This book deals primarily with the further developments of, and deviations from, Positivist thought during the course of the Second Empire. It is only incidentally concerned with the fate of sociology during this age. Indeed, Auguste Comte is the only sociologist who is dealt with at any length. Despite the fact that Comte is commonly regarded as the father of French Positivism, Dr. Charlton contends that he frequently departed from it, especially in his role as a reformer: "Comte is a reformer before he is a scientist, and it is small wonder that, sharing the preoccupations of his age, he should have ended as an archbishop."

The volume opens with a clear and capable survey of the general state of philosophy in France during the Second Empire and an assessment of the place and role of Positivist thought therein. The author finds that the most

truly and literal Positivist thinkers of the era were the philologist, literary historian, and general savant, Émile Littré, and the eminent protagonist of experimental medicine and the philosophy of science, Claude Bernard. Next to them as a consistent Positivist he ranks the Parnassian poet, Sully Prudhomme.

The thinking of the sociologist, Auguste Comte, the philologist and sceptical student of religion, Ernest Renan, and the psychologist and intellectual historian, Hippolyte Taine, is described as a transition from true Positivism to "Scientism." Comte sought to create a scientific social and economic system; Renan endeavored to set up a scientific religion; Taine strove to provide a scientific critique and method for metaphysics. They all pretended to abolish metaphysics but in their several ways brought back in a peculiar metaphysic of their own, thus departing from literal Positivism.

Finally, Dr. Charlton considers the work of the Parnassian poets, Louise Ackermann and Sully Prudhomme, as an illustration of the impact of Positivism on a prevailing trend in French literature in this period. He finds that Madame Ackermann's pessimism was more an outgrowth of her temperament and atheistic fatalism than of her flirtations with Positivism. It has already been pointed out that he regards Prudhomme's thought as more closely related to Positivism than is that of Comte, Renan, or Taine.

Perhaps more important than the author's learned and discriminating analysis of individual thinkers is his conclusion that, despite the persistent legend to the contrary, the Second Empire was not truly an "Age of Positivism." Equally interesting is Dr. Charlton's contention that "in many ways, the fifty years or so following 1870, the so-called period of idealistic reaction, form an age of much more militant positivism than the Second Empire." He cites in support of this such names as Ribot, Janet, Richet, Durkheim, Lévy-Bruhl, Henri Berr, and Zola, and suggests that "the time is ripe for a review of the fortunes and interactions of both positivism and its antagonists during the second half of the nineteenth century." It is not likely that a better author than Dr. Charlton could be found for this useful task.

All in all, this is a scholarly, informing, thoughtful, and discerning book. It is marred only by curious intellectual snobbery or exhibitionism—virtually every quotation from all the authors considered is given in the original French.

HARRY ELMER BARNES

Malibu, California

*Philanthropy in England 1480-1660: A Study of the Changing Pattern of English Social Aspirations.* By W. K. JORDAN. Russell Sage Foundation. London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1959. 410 pp. \$6.00.

The study of English history owes an enormous debt to American scholars, a debt which is constantly being increased. In recent years this has been particularly true of the field of social history, and the British student of these matters can often only feel ashamed as he contemplates those necessary tasks which have been undertaken and completed by friendly aliens in his society. At first sight it looks as though Professor Jordan has provided one of the most distinguished and important of these American contributions. British society in the 16th century has usually been seen as one in which the economic transformation of British agriculture, the rise of world prices, and the impact of the Protestant Reformation, all produced a situation in which an increase of economic hardship for the mass of the population was accompanied by a failure of the great sources of Catholic clerical charity.

Professor Jordan has taken all the charitable bequests in ten English counties by decennial periods for the years 1480 to 1660. (It would be possible to criticise this choice of counties, but if the whole of England could not be included, I do not really believe that a better selection could have been made.) He and his co-workers found from the study of these bequests that there was a quite extraordinary and, on the whole, increasing flood of private charity, while the law under the first Elizabeth directed the distribution of this philanthropy principally to the areas of greatest need.

If true, this is a most exciting and important conclusion. It is difficult not to believe that it is true as Professor Jordan's learned, enthusiastic, and elegant prose sweeps one along. There is only one question: how far can one believe the conclusions that have been so painstakingly drawn from so enormous an accretion of data given that the problem of the price revolution of the 16th century is neglected? I am by no means convinced that Professor Jordan may not be correct in his conclusions, but if he is correct, I am sure he exaggerates their significance because of this, to my mind, incomprehensible failure. But it might even be that he is not correct at all and that the price revolution not merely weakens the case so judiciously argued in these pages, but actually falsifies it.

The sociologist concerned with problems of social welfare or still worried about the relations of religion and society during the Refor-

mation must use this book and the volumes which we are told will complete the study. He will gain a great deal of fascinating information, but I do not think that he will be able to rely on the major theme. To be effective these statistics must be re-worked.

D. G. MACRAE

*London School of Economics and  
Political Science*

*The Attorney in Eighteenth-Century England.*

By ROBERT ROBSON. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1959. xii, 182 pp. \$4.75.

Comparative material such as this must always be welcomed by sociologists, even when it is not explicitly oriented towards their own theoretical concerns. Robson is dealing with a stage in the development of the legal profession when its professionalization was still far from complete, and comparisons, therefore, between the 18th century legal profession and that of the present day, as well as comparisons between the 18th century legal profession and contemporary "young" professions are surely illuminating.

The 18th century witnessed the development, on the one hand, of institutions that would standardize the level of competence of attorneys (conditions of apprenticeship, examinations, and certification), and on the other hand, of institutions that would provide such external and internal regulation of the profession as to assure professional responsibility (legislation of penalties for malpractice, limitation of the number of attorneys, regulation by judges, and professional associations). Robson devotes an interesting chapter to the "Society of Gentleman Practitioners," forerunner of the present Law Society—a voluntary, independent society of attorneys, based in London, that worked both to maintain a high level of competence and responsibility, and to defend the attorneys against encroachments on their preserve by other groups, such as the barristers or scriveners. In other parts of England, local societies came into existence independently in this period, and independently developed much the same ideas concerning professional conduct and solidarity as the Society of Gentleman Practitioners.

The positions filled by men who called themselves attorneys were, in the 18th century, extremely varied, suggesting a lesser degree of specialization than that existing in the legal profession today. Attorneys played an important part in the administration of large agricultural establishments, as well as in the endless litigation connected with the selling of land and with the inheritance of it. These legally trained estate agents were often also the political agents

for their employers, and, in some cases, attorneys were also financial agents. All these activities are described in considerable detail by Robson.

The legal profession was in the 18th century (as also before and after that period), an important channel of mobility, an "accessible social bridge" as Robson calls it (p. 58), for men of very moderate means. The profession itself, he says, had little prestige and received much abuse, for all the importance of the attorney in local society; the Law itself was held in great reverence by people, but the lawyers were thought to exploit it for their own ends, and the corruption of the pettifogger evidently rubbed off onto the more ethical attorney. Successful lawyers, therefore, usually left the profession as soon as it was possible for them to buy an estate and join the landed gentry. This in turn provoked "complaints about those who had 'scraped gentility out of attorney's fees' . . ." (p. 144)—evidence of the ambivalence about social mobility in 18th century England.

Robson's book contains no real surprises for those working in the fields of the professions or of social stratification. It does, however, supply them with a good deal of empirical material that is not likely to be familiar and that can be used fruitfully in comparative sociological analysis.

ELINOR G. BARBER

*Columbia University*

*Man Made Plain: The Poet in Contemporary*

*Society.* By ROBERT N. WILSON. Foreword by HENRY A. MURRAY. Cleveland: Howard Allen Inc., 1959. xlviii, 224 pp. \$3.75.

This small book bears a tremendous figurehead. Forty-eight pages of preface, foreword, acknowledgements, and introduction, extend promises of one sort or another. Henry Murray says, in his foreword, "Here is a surprise: a talented American sociologist of the new order who is vocationally concerned with poets and their ways," while Mr. Wilson in his acknowledgements indicates that he has interviewed an impressive pride of literary lions—from Leonie Adams to William Carlos Williams—and that he enjoyed "fine cooperation" in his "search for why and how the poet does as he does."

On the basis of interviews with two dozen poets and a wide reading in the literature about contemporary poetry, the following subjects are treated: "Literature, Society, and Personality," "The Language of Poetry," "Creativity—The Self as Vocation," "The Poet in Society," "The Poetic Career," "Views of the Self as a Poet,"

and a final (rather lively) piece of literary reportage, "The Affairs of Ezra Pound."

Despite Mr. Wilson's membership in the new order, we are not given a systematic analysis of the institutional complex of poetry in contemporary society and the job of the poet; there is no systematic analysis of audiences, sponsorship, conventions, publication, reviewing, and other items which would seem, offhand, crucial for a sociological analysis of the business. Nor do we find the careful handling of data which would seem mandatory in such a study. Instead we are presented with an essay drawing upon soft psychology and the folklore of poets about themselves, shot through with a polemic in favor of contemporary poetry. Thus Mr. Wilson does not give us a preeminently *sociological* study, derived from and leading to sociological interests. Instead, he seems to have been co-opted by the poets.

Of what value is such a study to sociology? I see three kinds of profit. First, it is a fairly easy introduction to a segment of American life outside the ken of many colleagues—what might be called the "esthetic underground." Second, it presents a series of challenges to our parochial frame-of-reference. Mr. Wilson is shrewd in emphasizing the limitations of a functionalist approach which comes perilously close to simple Philistinism (whether Protestant and Ethical or not). Finally, the book is laced with good quotations. The following, for example, illustrates a certain similarity between the role of the poet, as conceived by MacLeish, and that of the social scientist:

"... poets are persons of  
Known vocation following troops: they must  
sleep with  
Stragglers from either prince and of both views:  
The rules permit them to further the business  
of neither."

SCOTT GREER

Northwestern University

*Mirrors and Masks: The Search for Identity.*

By ANSELM L. STRAUSS. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1959. 186 pp. \$4.00.

The art of the drama and the art of social science have a good bit in common—that is the implication, at any rate, of the title and the intention of this work. A few years ago, the well known drama critic, Walter Kerr, compared the reformist period of Odets and Steinbeck with the current era of Tennessee Williams and Arthur Miller, and concluded "... we have dropped the blueprints and become fascinated by the human personality as a mystery" (*Harpers*, April, 1956). Willy Loman in *The Death of a Salesman*, and the inhabitants of *The Glass Menagerie*, are not fighting the battle for society

but the battle for personal identity. It is no surprise that this same interest—essentially an interest in determining how people answer the question "Who am I?"—finds expression in the social science of our time.

Strauss argues, in effect, that it is time for social psychologists to drop the blueprints—which means, for him, that the currently popular scientific vocabularies, dealing with "role" and "status" or "stimulus" and "response" or "drives" and "needs," are altogether too gross and prescriptive to illuminate the intricacies of identity development. And to complete the parallel with Kerr's remark on the drama, Strauss, too, is fascinated by the mystery: he wants to further a social psychology that can "recognize the tremendous complexity of interaction" and that is aware of the "frequently unexpected results of interactional drama" (p. 54)—a social psychology that can capture "the open-ended, tentative, exploratory, hypothetical, problematical, devious, changeable, and only partly-unified character of human courses of action" (p. 91).

More formally put, this book represents "an attempt to juxtapose and fuse symbolic interactional and social organizational perspectives into a workable, suggestive social psychology" (p. 11). The theme, the style, and the conceptual frame are all calculated to allow a maximum of intellectual latitude in pursuing this obviously challenging task. The author's theme is that language is a central feature of human behavior; the discussion is cast in essay form, with all the intended discursiveness that this implies; and the idea of identity is the conceptual focus, a term that is not defined and was deliberately chosen on the ground that the ambiguity and diffuseness of its reference would allow less constricted exploration of new perspectives. In this fashion, Strauss presents six chapters that deal with such problems as the importance of the act of naming in determining identities and in guiding action (Chapter 1); the continuous indeterminacy of self-images which courses of action entail (Chapter 2); the complex character of interaction and of the transformations of identity that such interaction produces (Chapters 3 and 4)—whether these transformations are witting (as in "coaching" of one participant by another) or unwitting, fleeting, or extreme (as in the identification changes of "brain-washing"), regularized or relatively unpredictable (what Strauss calls "status-forcing").

It is difficult, of course, by the very nature of the style employed, to summarize the propositions that are at stake. What comes out of the work primarily, I should say, is what Strauss intended: namely, a sense for the



fluidity and indeterminacy of face-to-face interaction, and for the importance of symbolic features in social encounters. It is my own judgment that the emphasis on symbolic behavior comes off much better than the parallel emphasis on social organization. As a result, the systematic sociologically oriented social psychology that is envisioned in these pages (and which is declared for directly in the preface and in the brief concluding note that constitutes Chapter 7) remains very largely a promise or hope for the future.

Strauss' essays are written with sense and sensibility; but there is, too, a good deal that is routine and repetitive in these pages (for example, in what sense is it a "discovery" that school superintendents—or other position incumbents, for that matter—have not one audience but many; in what degree do we need to be reminded that self appraisals are dependent upon the responses of others, or that past acts can be the subject of constant reappraisal with new experience?). These critical comments, it should be understood, are addressed not so much specifically to this book or to its author as to the larger question involved: namely, the place of the symbolic interactionist perspective in the future development of social psychology. I am reminded of Brewster Smith's comment, in the course of an extended book review, that "... the interactionist theory which burst full-blown from the pens of Cooley and Mead, having generated singularly little research, remains ... essentially as its brilliant authors left it" (*Psychological Bulletin*, 50, March 1953, p. 153). There is enough truth in the taunt—notwithstanding the counter ripostes that may be made about the oversimplifications of learning theory or the obfuscations of Freudian theory—to wonder, if I may use Strauss' metaphor most unliterally, what is behind the mirror or under the mask.

MELVIN SEEMAN

*University of California (Los Angeles)*

*Freud: The Mind of the Moralizer.* By PHILIP RIEFF. New York: Viking Press, 1959. xvi, 387 pp. \$6.00.

This remarkably subtle and substantial book, with its nicely ordered sequences of skilled dissections and refined appraisals, is one of those rare products of profound analytic thought and judgment whose most distinctive benefits are inevitably reserved for those who will sit down and brood on it, withholding verdicts until digestion is complete. Its special virtues are not open to those who gallop when they read; nor are they in any way susceptible of summary.

Freud's astonishing discovery that neurotic

symptoms—including abnormal alterations of measurable organic functions—are common consequences of protracted moral conflicts in the sphere of sex, reinstated, in a new guise, "the ethical conception of human illness." And so, as Philip Rieff makes clear, despite the fact that Freud himself had no explicit ethical convictions to impart, no advice, no sort of encouraging positive ideal for man, and no hope of any liberating sexual revolution, the procedures he devised for the settlement of crippling civil wars within the self and much of what he had to say on this and related matters necessarily have moral implications. Thus viewed, Freud becomes the unintentionally moral culture hero of our time, ample reason for this book and for its title. "He is not only the first completely irreligious moralist, he is a moralist without even a moralizing message." It is precisely this—the unsentimental moralist's muted "moralizing message"—that is offered us in this unsentimental work composed by a coolly critical, closely identified admirer after a penetrating, scrupulous examination of the whole wide scope of the Master's published writings.

The atmosphere the reader will be breathing from start to finish is foreshadowed in the author's poignant first statement of his purpose: "I have tried to show the mind of Freud, not the man or the movement he founded, as it derives lessons on the right conduct of life from the misery of living it."

Rieff surveys, in a detailed and exact manner that inspires confidence, Freud's view of the course of human personality as a dialectic of progress and regression, successive outcomes of recurrent conflicts inherent in the very nature of man, society, and culture. Next in order are chapters devoted to Freud's conceptions of the hidden self, of sexuality (marked by the explicit assumption of male superiority and of female envy), of history, politics, and religion. The author—serving, in a sense, as Freud's posthumous superego, moral and scientific—weighs each major article of the psychoanalytic canon in the scales of his sensitive understanding, then gives a superbly balanced judgment, favorable in many instances, unfavorable in others. What emerges at the termination of these delicate interpretations and assessments is an ethic of outspoken honesty, on the one hand, and of tolerance, on the other, both consonant with the opinion of Abbé Galiani that "the important thing is not to be cured but to live with one's ailments."

Anthologists of sage sayings should be immediately apprised that Rieff is for them a wish-fulfillment and a source of income, an author after their own hearts, whose first major work teems with apt epigrams for their gran-

aries. Take, for example, the following telling sentences from page 329: (i) "The private man needs to know how to defend his affections, for the most personal are the most easily spoiled." (ii) "Psychoanalytic pedagogy is intended for the student weak in the understanding of the limited possibilities in life." (iii) "Such careful and detailed concentration on the self as Freud encourages may more often produce pedants of the inner life than virtuosi of the outer one." (iv) "Yet, in default of other cures, egotism suits the age, and Freud's is only one of the most successful, and certainly the most subtle, of contemporary ideologies of self-salvation." (v) "Calculation, Newman said, has never made a hero; but calculation can make the unheroic healthier." (vi) "The essentially secular aim of the Freudian spiritual guidance is to wean away the ego from either a heroic or a compliant attitude to the community."

These grim statements serve to introduce the culminating chapter in which Philip Rieff appears as a modest John the Baptist of a new cultural dispensation, Psychological Man, incarnation of the doctrine of Sigmund Freud, presiding genius of the century. "Confess ye in an orthodox analysis for the kingdom of truthful self-knowledge is at hand." There is no pretense of gladness in these tidings born from the loins of *Ecclesiastes*: "For in much wisdom is much grief: and he that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow." "All is vanity," in two senses, since Psychological Man is "the trained egoist" who refuses to be gulled by false hopes, "the private man, who turns away from the arenas of public failure to re-examine himself and his own emotions." Since *there* inside, supposedly, his treasure is, *there* will his heart and mind be also, seeking—with both superego and libido tamed by talk and thought—the ungraspable image of himself. Underlying the whole implicit argument of the Freud of Philip Rieff is the ancient assumption, so foreign to the Greeks, that "that mortal man," as Melville put it, "who hath more of joy than sorrow in him, that mortal man cannot be true—not true or undeveloped."

HENRY A. MURRAY

Harvard University

*A Psychiatrist's World: The Selected Papers of Karl Menninger, M.D.* Edited by BERNARD H. HALL. Foreword by MARION E. KENWORTHY. New York: Viking Press, 1959. xxvi, 931 pp. \$10.00.

Even in days of boundless faith in serendipity and the flashes of insight of Great Men, we can still learn what has helped or hindered be-

havioral sciences. We can learn by looking at such energetic and articulate records of our life and times as are contained in the Menninger papers. Actually, they are far more instructive than any Case of Floppy-Eared Rabbits on record since they show what impedes or advances at least one behavioral science when zeal and enthusiasm are applied, even self-consciously, in one direction or another. In studying the record, it becomes increasingly dubious that good research "flies blind," or is aimlessly empiric in the worse sense, or in fact depends on serendipity and the lucky chance. Let us give historical accident its due; it isn't much.

As Marion Kenworthy, an eminent fellow-physician of Menninger's, points out in the Foreword, both the subject and the object of this memorial or *Festschrift* appears clearly as a man, as a clinician, as a teacher, and as administrator. This is because he has consciously shared these many types of dedicated effort through his writings. It is a record rich in opinion, broad in span of years, and wide in range of subject matter. The open expansiveness is characteristically American. Here one finds Menninger's views on nature, on man, on medicine and psychoanalysis; on philosophy, religion and education; on criminology and on the history of psychiatry.

In this sense, Menninger's other famous volumes (*The Human Mind, Man Against Himself*, etc.) are covered in the subject matter of this one along with something of a biographic record, a list of publications from 1919 on, and over eighty widely scattered papers, addresses, reviews, and marginalia, many of which would otherwise be buried in recondite sources. Hall's Introduction and sectional prefaces are painstakingly done to preserve both range and depth.

What then is inevitable—or far from historical accident—in the Menninger record? The struggles of psychiatry from the second decade of this century are abundantly illustrated. Once a neglected stepchild of medicine, psychiatry had to supplement the organicist approach with insights into human thought and emotion, and later with insights into effects of social and cultural experience. Menninger's work, as even the titles of his books attest, belongs clearly to the first great period of transition toward a psychobiological and psychoanalytic orientation. Yet he struggles toward a social psychiatry, in which social and cultural experiences are explicit, without quite reaching this point. Two of Menninger's best papers illustrate this point. One is on the "unitary concept of mental illness," and the other on "regulatory devices of

the ego under stress." Both are represented in the section on theoretical contributions.

Menninger is at his best in fields where the public impact of sociology is most clearly felt: psychiatry in relation to crime, changing concepts of disease, the problems of massive prisons or massive hospitals. All one can hope, in view of his long and fruitful career, is that he will move further in the direction of medical sociology in his own branch of behavioral science, regaining insights from the rapidly accumulating data of social psychiatry. He could then fully reflect the findings of the last decade: that social and cultural experiences influence any and all behavior, even the most disordered, of the human mind.

MARVIN K. OPLER

*University of Buffalo*

*Mental Illness in London.* By VERA NORRIS. Maudsley Monographs, No. 6. London: Chapman & Hall Ltd. for the Institute of Psychiatry, 1959. 317 pp. 35s.

This is the sixth of a new series of publications sponsored by Britain's Institute of Psychiatry. Dr. Norris' work, like most of its predecessors in this series, contains an aspect of sociological interest, though none to date have dealt focally with their subject matter in a framework representative of modern sociology.

Dr. Norris makes deceptively modest claims for her study. She notes that whatever the situation may be as to the real incidence of mental illness, the increasing confidence of the population in psychiatric care has created a rise in admission rates to the hospitals. (Over half the British admissions are voluntary.) Furthermore, despite the optimistic claims of enthusiastic proponents of one or another kind of psychiatric treatment method, the hospitals are becoming increasingly overcrowded, with eighty-five per cent of the patients on any given day having been in residence for over a year. Her task, as a medical statistician, is, she feels, to present the hard facts of the current situation so that no ultimately harmful collusions can develop among optimistic patients, enthusiastic treatment proponents, and economy-minded government officials. She, therefore, sees her own work as presenting data primarily of a factual kind, with primary utility for the guidance of immediate policy decisions relating to psychiatric facilities.

Dr. Norris reports here on her survey of two observation units and three mental hospitals in London, taking admissions during 1947-1949 followed up until the end of 1951. She works entirely from hospital records, raising such problems as the expectancy of mental dis-

order for patients of particular categories, their period of greatest risk for psychiatric illness, their probabilities for long *versus* short stay in hospital, for readmission after discharge, and so on.

Most of Dr. Norris' substantive findings parallel those of others using a similar approach in European or American settings. For example, it was found that the general expectation of being mentally hospitalized for this population at some point during their lifetimes, was about five per cent (these figures, while occurring in an urban setting that offers many alternative dispositions for mentally disordered individuals than hospitalization, still show an excess over available English rural figures); schizophrenics have a higher readmission rate and poorer prognosis than manic-depressives; mortality rates for hospitalized psychiatric patients are higher than for the age- and sex-matched populations outside, with females (especially younger females, in this sample) having a higher excess rate than males, psychotic states with somatic accompaniments having a higher rate than others, manic-depressives higher than schizophrenics, and a general decrease in excess mortality among the aged. In reporting these and other findings, Dr. Norris makes such systematic comparisons with other studies that a number of detailed differences can be seen. For example, Kallman's hypothetical diathesis between tuberculosis and schizophrenia is not borne out in these data.

In her discussion of the influences of age, sex, and marital status, Dr. Norris makes a kind of contribution that seems to me most to exceed the manifest one of reporting the "facts" of the situation. She notes that her findings do not seem to help much in clearing up such problems as the relative effects of marital status and constitutional susceptibility in producing the disorders. However, she outlines the various partially supported hypotheses current in the literature—for example, that pre-psychotic dispositions are more of a handicap to males than females in courtship and therefore would increase the relative real incidence among single males; that the hospitalized incidence of single males would also be in excess of single females because psychotic single males would be less likely to be able to look after themselves or be looked after than psychotic females; or that marriage itself acts as a protection against mental disorder (or at least a buffer against hospitalization). In her discussion of why her own data show a bigger drop in vulnerability among males than among females following marriage, she introduces an interesting historical analysis of the changing role of English women, using such data as reports of the Commissioner in

Lunacy of the nineteenth century to support with available incidence counts the hypothesis that marriage now provides a comparatively smaller set of rewards and a comparatively larger set of new stresses for women than it did in the nineteenth century. These discussions go a long way toward clarifying the issues that must guide future research on the topics of sex and marriage roles in mental disorder.

In general, Dr. Norris' volume suffers from its recognized limitations set by the type of data used, and from its unrecognized limitations of a comparative dearth of sociological conceptualization. However, within these limitations, it is a splendid example of meticulous research of its genre—doing the best that can be done with data of this kind, making her approaches explicit and relating them to the others in the field at large. In this sense, it is not only a first rate, scholarly monograph, but useful as a text in the methodology of medical statistics. Despite its inconclusiveness and lack of novelty in substantive findings, it gives them such a thorough "working over" that the way is made clearer for future work in the general field of epidemiology of mental illness.

ROBERT N. RAPAPORT

Harvard University

*An Experiment in Mental Patient Rehabilitation: Evaluating a Social Agency Program.* By HENRY J. MEYER and EDGAR F. BORCATT. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1959. 114 pp. \$2.50.

Judged solely as a report of substantive findings regarding the effectiveness of a work rehabilitation program for mental patients this volume is not impressive. But it is both absorbing and instructive taken as a case study of the organizational and ideological forces that operated in a professional social work agency to bring about the failure of a carefully designed experimental study directed at evaluating its services to mental patients.

The research problem essentially was to find out, given matched groups of post-hospitalized mental patients, whether those who received the services of the Altro Health and Rehabilitation program were better rehabilitated, judged by various criteria, than those who were not offered these services. The first part of the book describes the research design as originally planned, the problems of implementation that arose, and the subsequent modifications that had to be made in order to carry out the study. The second part contains a comparison of the sample and target population of the Altro program, a factor analysis of the background variables of patients, and a tentative

assessment of the effectiveness of the program.

The two most interesting chapters (2 and 7) analyze the problems that arose in carrying out an experiment within the context of a professional case work agency. The experience shows that there is a basic conflict between professional social work standards and the scientific requirements of an evaluation study; the former demand that patients' participation in the program be voluntary, but such self-selection makes it impossible to establish the impact of the program itself. Moreover, since most of the eligible patients refused the option to participate, the program reached only a very small segment of the target population. One might raise the question whether this principle of self-selection does not exclude from service the very clients most in need of it, in much the same way that self-selection operates in exposure to educational campaigns in the mass media.

The authors' interesting analysis of their research experiences makes this book recommended reading for anyone planning systematic evaluative research in social agencies; it should also be of some interest to students of formal organization.

ZENA SMITH BLAU

University of Illinois

*Century of Struggle: The Women's Rights Movement in the United States.* By ELEANOR FLEXNER. Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1959. x, 384 pp. \$6.00.

Miss Flexner's book, dedicated to her suffragist mother, is a work of meticulous historical scholarship. It is a serious study, vibrant with human interest, of a significant social movement. It should interest intelligent readers of either sex, as well as sociologists who may find in it a useful adjunct to the comparative study of social movements of our times.

The author subdues her use of biography to the purposes of history. She shows how the campaign for basic legal and economic rights was an outgrowth of women's part in the Abolitionist struggle. She makes clear, too, that the women who took part in that struggle, whether white or Negro, were keenly aware of their common interests and problems.

Though parts of the story are well known, there is no other book of this caliber depicting the development of the woman's movement as a whole. In particular, new light is shed on the gruelling later stages of the struggle for the political franchise. The author furnishes up-to-date documentation of the intense last-ditch resistance to a movement whose broad principles



had, in the years between 1848 (when Elizabeth Stanton first demanded the vote at the famous Seneca Falls Conference) and 1910, gained rather general acceptance.

We see, too, how the woman's movement changed in character and leadership over the years—how the earlier unity based on adherence to general humanitarian principles gave place to a unity forged out of tough organizational know-how, partly as a result of bitter in-fighting. The leadership of the intellectual Elizabeth Stanton, backed by the organizing ability of her indefatigable friend Susan Anthony, typifies the first phase; Carrie Chapman Catt's shrewd political generalship, and subordination of all other issues to gaining the vote, typifies the second.

"To get the word 'male' out of the Constitution," wrote Mrs. Catt, "cost the women of the country fifty-two years of pauseless campaign . . . fifty-six campaigns of referenda to male voters . . . 480 campaigns to get legislatures to submit suffrage amendments . . . 277 campaigns to get state conventions to include woman suffrage planks . . . and nineteen campaigns with nineteen successive Congresses."

Miss Flexner's analysis of the opposition to women's suffrage inevitably suggests comparison with current opposition to integration and the extension of the Negro vote; it furnishes food for thought though possibly insufficient grounds for prophecy. Opponents of women's suffrage included both sheltered women and conventional religious leaders. Such people, however, are seen by the author as "fronting," for more potent but better concealed interests, such as saloon proprietors, ward politicians, and certain powerful corporations, in cahoots with politicians of both parties, who feared that the women's vote might cost them money.

Precipitants of final victory were attention-getting militant suffragettes, the enhanced bargaining power of women due to the United States entry into World War I, and finally, the open support of President Wilson. Prophetic?

ELIZABETH K. NOTTINGHAM

*Queens College*

*Book Selection and Censorship: A Study of School and Public Libraries in California.* By MARJORIE FISKE. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1959. ix, 145 pp. \$3.75.

Community conflicts and rumors of unpublicized episodes centered in libraries in 1951-57 inspired this study of decision-making processes in libraries in 26 California communities. The 204 detailed interviews involved administrators and librarians connected with 46 senior high

school libraries and 48 municipal and county community libraries. The resulting report will not surprise many thoughtful users of public libraries, but it makes one even less complacent about the growing orthodoxy of expression in this country. As Fiske notes, "There isn't a problem in this book, is there?" is a question some librarians said they hear with increasing frequency. A great many librarians do work which is surprisingly dedicated, courageous, and informed, but Fiske quotes a pessimistic head librarian as saying, "Everything the library stands for runs counter to the prevailing trends of our time" (p. 11).

In summarizing her interview reports and other data concerning library operation and control, Fiske furnishes an enlightening description of the librarian's professional roles. She tells of the complicated and significant contexts in which this professional operates, often without adequate recognition, pay, or freedom. Specific case histories of controversy would have been helpful in making the nature of the struggles for and against censorship of library offerings more clear, but Fiske furnishes a thoughtful summary and analysis of how public and institutional pressures operate and are met. Among these, the "reproaches from religious groups are perennial" (p. 40). She gives special treatment to school librarianship and then concludes with a penetrating chapter on the librarian's evolving professional image and its implications for the librarian and for the public.

Whatever faults these California librarians might have—and Fiske spells them out clearly and sympathetically—they often do a better job than their community would prefer. As she points out, public school librarians "find the everthickening layers of curriculum coordinators and instructional supervisors incompatible with the primary functions of the library, if not with education itself" (p. 112). As one would anticipate, direct and indirect pressures sooner or later become internalized. Fiske evidently places what faith she has for the future utility of libraries in the professional organizations of librarians and in the degree to which librarians can feel a sense of professional autonomy supported by their organizations and by public understanding of their necessary roles in a democratic society. She concludes that "the profession has solved enough of its status and credential problems to be able to devote itself to substantive matters and to keeping an eye out for threats against the traditional freedoms of libraries and their publics" (p. 103).

ALFRED MCCLUNG LEE

*Brooklyn College of the City of  
New York*

*Criminology and Penology.* By RICHARD R. KORN and LLOYD W. MCCORKLE. New York: Henry Holt and Co. (Holt-Dryden Book), 1959. xii, 660 pp. \$6.50.

Many new textbooks give the impression, unfortunately, of being pieced together from older works; we seem to be plagued by old platitudes in new dust jackets. Happily, this is *not* true of *Criminology and Penology*, for here is a book that offers a good deal of new material presented in an original way.

The book is divided into two main parts, the first dealing with problems of method, crime statistics, the nature of criminal law, crime and social structure, and theories of crime causation. The authors' efforts to go beyond familiar ground are typified by the chapter on genetic, glandular, and constitutional theories of crime which avoids the common error of a too quick dismissal. The second part of the book covers a history of punishment, the police, correctional institutions, and recently developed methods of treatment. The perceptive analysis of prisons is clearly the result of the authors' long, first-hand experience in prison administration.

Originality of material and organization is not always a virtue, of course, and at times Korn and McCorkle seem to skitter from one topic to another without much rhyme or reason. I also think the authors make a mistake in dwelling too long on general issues of sociology, such as frames of reference, the nature of definition, and so on—although this could conceivably be an advantage if students have had little or no exposure to the social sciences.

However, the material most likely to arouse debate involves the newer methods of rehabilitation, particularly as found in Chapter 24, "Specific Treatment Techniques." The authors indicate, quite correctly, that the rehabilitation or reformation of offenders will require, in many cases, "reintegrative therapy," i.e., a radical change in the individual's personality. They fail to note that altering personalities may be a horrifying process, as suggested by Orwell's *1984* or Karp's *One*. (The account of a counselling session, pp. 562-566, is more than a little disturbing.) If we ever really give up punishing criminals and instead try to cure them, we may find ourselves inflicting psychological barbarities on our prisoners which are far worse than physical maltreatment. Korn and McCorkle, with admirable clarity, have shown the power of recent advances in psychotherapy for changing criminals into non-criminals and thus they have pointed implicitly to a significant problem, namely, the limits of state imposed therapy. But the book would have been im-

proved, I think, if the issue had been discussed at greater length.

In any event, this new textbook can be recommended for both its frankness and its refusal blindly to repeat its predecessors. Courses in criminology which lay a heavy stress on penology should find it most useful.

GRESHAM M. SYKES

Northwestern University

*Mass Leisure.* Edited by ERIC LARRABEE and ROLF MEYERSON. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1958. x, 429 pp. \$6.00.

In reviewing a book of readings one is in a predicament. How should one deal with three dozen or so contributions by different authors in a volume of over four hundred pages? It might perhaps be best to limit specific observations to the contributions of the editors and then add a few comments on the general implications of publications such as these.

One looks in vain for an introduction of scope. The editors limit themselves to two pages in which they assure us that their subject, namely leisure, "has become available, on an increasing scale, to the populations of the modern, industrial West"; the authors declare, furthermore, that they share "the most earnest conviction that on the uses and misuses of leisure will hinge much that is good and evil in coming years." So far so good. On their own, Eric Larrabee, the brilliant writer and magazine editor, republishes his *New York Times Magazine* essay "What's Happening to Hobbies?" and Rolf Meyerson of the University of Chicago's Center for the Study of Leisure, republishes his "Notes on a Natural History of Fads" which is co-authored by Elihu Katz. Larrabee's highly readable essay touches upon the new trends in leisure-time activities which seem to "refute the prophets of spectatoritis, the disease which was going to reduce the mass-media audience to an imbecility of non-participation." He offers astute sociological observations on the renaissance of hobbies, strikingly manifested in the "Do-it-yourself" cult which has led to the use of leisure "as a growing national preoccupation"; one is grateful for his report on a *Wall Street Journal* article on popular culture where he seems to discover "an index of the importance that leisure has come to occupy in the national economy." The article by Meyerson and Katz illustrates the point that poor style is not a requirement of good sociological work. The first sentence is delightful: "The study of fads and fashions may serve the student of social change much as the study of fruit flies has served geneticists: neither the sociologist nor the geneticist has to wait long for a new generation to

arrive." There are very promising observations, which one may hope will be followed up by research, on the class strategy of fads and particularly their social time schedule. In this connection, while the reviewer finds it courageous of the authors to say, "with perfect information, a normal distribution of tastes [with regard to music fads] can be expected at most times and for most things," he would anticipate that detailed analysis will not bear out this statistical expectation. The Meyersohn and Katz article is carefully annotated and Meyersohn's "Comprehensive Bibliography on Leisure, 1900-1958," with which the book ends, is a highly welcome professional tool.

The volume is organized under four main headings: "When Does Time Become Leisure?" "Time On Our Hands," "Too Much or Too Little?" and "The Runaway Weekend—Mass Leisure." The cuteness of these section headings says something about the character of the publication as a whole. One fails to see for what audience it was contrived. An assortment of literary devices is used including such esoteric material as Max Picard's "Time and Silence," or Clive Bell's "How to Make a Civilization." There is also a slight bow to history in the reprinting of ten pages from Richard Altick's excellent *The English Common Reader*. On the other hand, the book has a good deal of the usual specialized research pieces and comes out under the imprint of a publishing house primarily serving the social science trade. Are collections, such as the one under discussion and its predecessor, *Mass Culture*, really suitable as calling cards of sociology to be distributed to the educated lay reader? And, incidentally, I wish to raise the question, too, whether this ingeniously composed collection of disjointed, though mostly readable, scholarly and literary tidbits is useful for the academic teacher.

The main reason, however, the publication stirs some uneasiness in me is its symptomatic character. It has become increasingly difficult to welcome the succession of Readers appearing year after year in communications, in popular culture, and now in leisure. Of course, these examples are not taken at random, but constitute a nexus. The word of protest uttered here is not directed against a collection of essays *per se*. Indeed, I am inclined to take a dim view of the construction of general sociological theories and systems at the present stage of scientific intercourse. The tackling of social science problems from various perspectives is a very wholesome scholarly enterprise, but there is a danger that these Readers come to display a facile and even sterile eclecticism. The two "Mass" Readers in particular run the risk of reinforcing the fragmentation of time and thought so drastically

manifest in the mass media. But what is good for the media is not good enough for sociology.

LEO LOWENTHAL

University of California, Berkeley

*American Marriage: A Way of Life.* By RUTH SHONLE CAVAN. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1959. xiv, 498 pp. \$5.25.

*Courtship and Marriage.* By FRANCIS E. MERRILL. Revised and expanded. New York: Henry Holt & Co. (Holt-Dryden Book), 1959. x, 451 pp. \$4.95.

The Courtship and Marriage course poses a perennial dilemma for the sociologist with a liberal arts orientation. One alternative is to develop as thoroughly empirical and rigorous an analysis of courtship and marriage patterns as the current state of behavioral science permits. At the other extreme is a course which is a grab bag of truisms, sage advice, sexology, household budgeting exercises, child rearing hints, and adjustment-promoting aphorisms. The two books reviewed here illustrate, respectively, each tendency.

Cavan's *American Marriage: A Way of Life*, is oriented to the goal of life adjustment. There is no theoretical orientation, nor are distinctively sociological concepts introduced or employed in analysis. With the exceptions of the Burgess-Wallin engagement study, to which extensive reference is made, and the results of a survey of 283 students at "Alpha College," there is surprisingly little research documentation.

Some section headings—for example, "When Not to Become Engaged" (p. 175), "How to Live with Parents and In-laws" (p. 386), "What to do on a Date" (p. 103)—seemed to this reader almost presumptuously prescriptive, while in other sections the discussion is shallow and hortatory. Indeed, the author seems to suggest in at least one place (see the paragraph on pp. 54-55) that deeply seated emotions can be altered by intellectual arguments.

Much of the material is pat, superficial, and inconsequential. The final chapter, "Effective Family Living in the Community," would not do credit to a high school civics text.

Six of the more technical chapters, "Personal Readiness for Marriage," "Building Sex into Marriage," "Managing Money," "Making the Future Secure," "Becoming Parents," and "Growth and Birth of a Baby," are co-authored with specialists and are the best in the book. The twenty-five page description of the growth and birth of a baby is the most concise I have seen.

Merrill's latest revision of his *Courtship and Marriage* is an altogether different type of book.

A simple but well worked out theoretical framework is employed throughout. The courting couple and the family are viewed as social subsystems in which actors play dynamically interdependent roles. All interaction is seen as a "social process whereby two or more persons 'take each other into account' as they seek to meet their needs" (p. vii) and in so doing stimulate themselves.

Merrill's coverage of pertinent research is good, with unusually wide documentation from relevant studies. One might wish that more study data were used or at least referred to. Merrill often makes general or sweeping statements supported with only a footnote reference to a specific study, and in some places the relationship between text and footnoted reference is obscure.

In this book, as in Cavan's, the tough-minded reader may object to some features. Where empirical data are lacking, the author does not hesitate to speculate. This is true, for example, in much of the discussion concerning romantic love and the "dating line." A number of sections in the chapter on "Person Factors" in courtship and marriage depend heavily on psychoanalytic interpretations, drawn particularly from the work of Theodore Reik. One may or may not agree with Reik's assertion, quoted by Merrill, that "Love is a substitute for another desire, for the vain urge to reach one's ego-ideal. . . . One becomes a better and worthier person through love—one came nearer and nearer to his own ego-ideal—thus through love, fear and insecurity disappear" (p. 145). But it would be better to label this as speculation—intelligent and informed, perhaps—but speculation nevertheless.

In one nonsociological sense, the chapters on sexual behavior and pregnancy, "Affectional Roles," and "Prenatal Roles" are not nearly so good as Cavan's. But, from a sociological perspective, Merrill adequately and insightfully demonstrates that there are role behaviors, even the husband's prenatal role. It may be, however, that some material is being forced into a role analysis mold.

Merrill's three final chapters, "Marriage Counseling," "Marriage Education," and "Marriage Prediction," fall below the standard of the others. "Marriage Education," dealing as it does with historical description, has implications neither for the sociological analysis of courtship interaction nor for an adjustment goal and might as well have been omitted.

It should be reemphasized that each book attempts to accomplish an entirely different purpose. Certainly there is a place for each, and

instructors will make their selections according to their own classroom needs.

CHARLES HOBART

*University of Redlands*

*Basic Statistical Methods.* By N. M. DOWNIE and R. W. HEATH. New York: Harper & Bros., 1959. xii, 289 pp. \$4.50.

*A Basic Course in Sociological Statistics: A Textbook and Workbook Combined.* By MORRIS ZELDITCH, JR. New York: Henry Holt & Co. (Holt-Dryden Book), 1959. xiii, 370 pp. \$6.50.

Because these two recent introductory textbooks in applied statistics were written for somewhat different populations, they are not strictly comparable. Downie and Heath, writing from a psychological background, have their sights set on students in education, psychology, and sociology; Zelditch, a sociologist by training, has aimed more squarely at sociology students. Nevertheless, it is instructive to remark certain of their similarities, since these reflect current trends and problems in the teaching of applied statistics.

In line with one current trend, both volumes include a separate chapter on distribution-free methods, as well as to the standard fare—averages, dispersion, correlation, and sampling. Whether such methods will secure a permanent position in the first course, or whether they will again be ignored after the postwar flurry of interest in them has subsided, is not yet evident. In any event, the discussion of such techniques is necessarily oriented more to the statistical producer than to the statistical consumer, and to that extent its presence is somewhat forced in a textbook that is designed primarily for terminal undergraduates.

Both volumes are intended for persons with a very limited background in mathematics. Downie and Heath have undertaken to write a book which involves as little mathematics as possible (p. xi); Zelditch avows that his book was "designed with the specific and pleasant intention of attracting the student who is frightened of mathematics" and that only some knowledge of arithmetic is presumed (p. v). Such declarations doubtless serve to assuage the anxious beginner, but they should perhaps be coupled with the reminder that statistics is, after all, applied mathematics, and that more than lay skill with numbers is essential to its mastery. The novice who dreams of statistics wholly free of mathematical arguments is likely to be disillusioned after his contact with regression, the binomial expansion, and the like.

Another motif common to both is the deliberate and consistent effort to keep the discussion



simple. While this strain toward simplicity is probably a sound working principle, still it increases the opportunity to lapse into ambiguous and imprecise statements. Thus, in treating the problem of regression, Downie and Heath state: "... ( $Y' - Y$ ) values are at a minimum when this line of 'best fit' is used" (p. 96). A more precise statement would be that the sum of squares is least. In Zelditch, we read (p. 24) that when a line is dropped from the maximum of a skewed curve, "more than half of the area will lie on one side. . . . If the bulk of the area lies to the left, and the trailing tail is to the right, the curve is positively skewed." This statement is confusing at best, since, when skew is positive, the mode is smaller than the median; hence, more than 50 per cent of the area will lie on its right. These instances are cited not to reveal mistakes—all books have their mistakes—but rather to exemplify the danger of writing too informally and elliptically about semi-technical matters.

Both volumes display a mild tendency toward ethnocentrism in that certain possible procedures which prevail in some quarters are set forth as the rules of statistical method. For example, D & H prescribe that axes be drawn in the ratio of 3:2 (p. 19); also, that class intervals be arranged from high to low (p. 18). Some authorities specify equal axes, and recommend that the intervals be arrayed from low to high. Zelditch advises that the frequency polygon must touch the base line (p. 37), which is at odds with a frequent recommendation that it be left open. Such unguarded writing is somewhat regrettable, since the undergraduate often acquires his statistical training in several academic departments, and is likely to be confused by the surface conflicts between apparently iron-clad rules.

*A Basic Course in Sociological Statistics* is an innovation in at least three respects: first, virtually all of the numerous and excellent problems—which must have required enormous labor to assemble—are based on actual research studies, so that the student may assimilate a fair share of sociological understanding in the process of working through them. Second, it abandons the conventional 6 x 9 page and substitutes a larger 8 x 10 page. This change seems to have been dictated, not by the possibly greater readability of the larger page, but rather by the inclusion of tear-out worksheets (180 in number) in the bound volume—the third innovation. Such book design has advantages and disadvantages: it assures, for instance, that textual presentation and problems are in close physical proximity; a possible objection is that the book tends to be virtually destroyed in the act of using it.

By and large the expository writing in these two texts is plain and intelligible. The limitations

noted above reflect more the dilemmas of statistical pedagogy than carelessness on the part of the respective authors. Any endeavor to prepare even elementary statistics in a manner that is palatable and digestible is sure to produce some ambiguities and minor inaccuracies.

Downie and Heath will be of greater interest to the psychologically oriented sociologist, since it revolves largely around test scores. On the other hand, Zelditch is distinctly sociological in tone, and is therefore likely to become a standard fixture on every sociologist's workbench. It treats in an extended manner the association of attributes, following the directions set by Lazarsfeld in his papers of a decade or more ago. In addition, it includes a compact summary of the more relevant proposals advanced by Goodman and Kruskal in their well known paper on association in contingency tables.

KARL F. SCHUESSLER

Indiana University

*Research Methods in Social Relations*. Revised One Volume Edition. By CLAIRE SELTZ, MARIE JAHODA, MORTON DEUTSCH, and STUART W. COOK. Editorial Readers ISIDOR CHEIN and HAROLD M. PROSHANSKY. New York: Henry Holt & Co. (A Holt-Dryden Book Published for the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues), 1959. xvi, 622 pp. \$5.50.

This book is a revised version of a two-volume methods text, first published in 1951 under the aegis of The Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues. Originally, the first volume consisted of eleven chapters on problems of design, data collection and analysis; the second volume of eleven detailed essays on particular techniques (content analysis, sociometric analysis, panel studies, etc.).

In the revised version, about half of the second volume (Whyte on observational field work methods, Zander on small group observation, Proctor and Loomis on sociometric analysis, Rosenberg, Thielens, and Lazarsfeld on panel studies, Wormser and Seltz on self-surveys, and Festinger on statistical techniques) has disappeared, and the rest (questionnaire, writing, interviewing, content analysis, sampling, and scaling) has been woven into the text or put in an appendix. In addition, the first volume has been expanded, considerably rewritten, and updated.

The resultant one-volume book, although written for the beginner, has an encyclopedic quality which sets it apart from similar works. One is hard pressed to think of a technique or problem which is not covered, whether it is a major issue such as sampling, experimental design, scaling, and reliability, or such esoteric

tidbits as the semantic differential, estimation of project costs, or cartoons as a visual aid in research. A number of strengths follow from this approach. In the first place, the book provides a single source in which the novice can get a briefing on almost any research technique. Secondly, the book covers a range of styles of research, avoiding the parochialism of many texts which tend to view all of social research from the limited perspective of survey analysis, group dynamics experiments, or psychometric testing.

There is, of course, a price to be paid, and that is that the reader doesn't learn an awful lot about any single technique. For instance, anyone who wants to use the Q technique is going to need more than the statement "Some authors have held that factor analysis is essential: others have disagreed." Or again, the novice needs somewhat more specific help in analysis of Guttman scales than a one paragraph definition of reproducibility. However, the authors are to be congratulated upon the care with which they have introduced specific references for further readings at places where they do not provide detailed discussions.

The authors have made a calculated decision to make the book astatistical, and one can hardly ask them to develop introductory statistics in addition to 587 pages of text on methods. However, it is not easy to explain the advantages of stratified sampling or the logic of analysis of variance without any statistics at all. The authors do a very good job of pulling off this stunt, which is akin to doing needle work while wearing boxing gloves. However, if and when a third edition is due, we hope that they might consider applying their considerable talents for simple exposition to the logic of statistical inference. Anyone who expects to know much about research methods without learning about statistical inference has about the same chances as someone who wants to learn how to swim without getting wet in the process.

University of Chicago JAMES A. DAVIS

*Jews in Suburbia.* By ALBERT I. GORDON. Boston: Beacon Press, 1959. xxv, 264 pp. \$3.50.

The popular discovery of sociology has been accompanied by the development of journalistic sociology, a type of journalism which draws on the approaches, methods, and findings of academic sociologists. The genre is best illustrated by the works of William H. Whyte, Jr. and Vance Packard, but Gordon's book belongs in the same category.

The author, a suburban rabbi, has studied about 80 suburban Jewish communities. The book begins with a description of the Jewish

migration within and from specific American cities, the characteristics of the suburbs to which the migrants have moved, and the Jewish communities they have developed there. Subsequent chapters are devoted primarily to Jewish suburbia in general. These discuss the new role and power of the wife, the growth of the synagogue, the revival of ritualism, the "return to religion" hypothesis, the relations with non-Jews, and the pros and cons of suburban life. In the final chapter, the author discusses what he believes to be the problems of suburban Jewry, including such contradictory ones as the formation of suburban ghettos and the increase in intermarriage.

The findings are based on the author's observations in his own congregation, a questionnaire sent to every tenth synagogue member in 20 suburbs, another questionnaire sent to 85 suburban rabbis, and a variety of informants and documentary sources. Although Gordon has made some attempt to get information about suburban Jews who are not affiliated with religious or social organizations, the findings apply mainly to affiliated Jews. The end product is a generally competent description but superficial analysis of the more visible characteristics of suburban Jewry; it adds little to what has been reported by academic sociologists and the writers of informal community studies published in *Commentary* and other Jewish magazines over the past decade.

The faults of the book are those of most journalistic-sociological studies. The author uses sociological concepts and methods, but in such a superficial manner that they become jargon rather than tools of inquiry. More important, he lacks the frame of reference, curiosity, and critical sensitivity necessary for the evaluation and analysis of data that distinguish the researcher from the fact-gatherer. A good deal of descriptive information about specific Jewish communities is reported in the book, but most of it is not analyzed. Conversely, the generalizations about the less obvious aspects of Jewish life are based more on the author's impressions than on the data he has collected.

While it is easy for the academic sociologist to deprecate the journalistic genre, this is not my intent here. Good journalistic sociology is a useful form of research. It probably cannot and need not display the conceptual or methodological sophistication of academic sociology. However, it should be able to compare favorably in the quality of ideas and hypotheses, especially since the journalistic sociologist is less restricted by the methodological superego that rules the academic researcher.

HERBERT J. GANS

University of Pennsylvania

*The Urban Community: A World Perspective.*

By NELS ANDERSON. New York: Henry Holt & Co. (Holt-Dryden Book), 1959. xii, 500 pp. \$5.50.

A text like this, designed for advanced undergraduates, is difficult to weigh judiciously. On the one hand the reviewer must assume the role of the student-reader; on the other he is called upon to evaluate the work in terms of more scientific canons.

As a text this book will probably be warmly received. Students should find it readable and in many ways informative. Set alongside other urban texts, it merits careful consideration. Unlike several recent urban texts touted by their publishers as embodying a "comparative" approach, while actually referring only incidentally to patterns external to the United States, Anderson's work definitely embodies comparative data, although the American scene is stressed throughout. The traditional topics are treated: population and ecology and the gamut of community social patterns extending from collective behavior through class and family to work and leisure.

Judged by more scientific standards, this book is found wanting. A truly adequate comparative survey would require the digestion of vast quantities of material. In a number of areas—even in such empirically well developed subfields as population and ecology—Anderson's work leaves something to be desired. The tradition among textbooks writers seems to be to piece together summaries of scattered studies rather than to attempt any real synthesis of data.

The book's limitations in the matter of synthesis are not unrelated to its theoretical deficiencies. Anderson adopts Wirth's approach whereby the city is the key "independent" variable for explaining certain phenomena. Admittedly this has merits, but Anderson fails to take account of the criticisms leveled against it over the past few decades. He finds himself confronted with data that do not fit his theoretical framework. Thus he resorts to such explanatory devices as technology, for example, when he observes that some cities are "more urban" than others or when he sneaks in the qualifier "industrial urban." Then too, many of the author's "rural" or "pre-urban" patterns actually have reached their fullest development in pre-industrial cities. Had he been aware of this he could have avoided associating the breakup of the extended family with urban living while admitting that the urban family was quite solidified until some generations ago (p. 275). Moreover, his framework blinds him to the significant differences between the industrial urban impact on

preliterate Africa (from which he draws a disproportionately large number of illustrations) and on traditional literate complex societies.

Abstracting and explaining the general and accounting for deviations is no simple assignment, but a reasonably successful effort would be a boon to students and instructors alike. I do not expect texts to be scholarly treatises, and Anderson's is perhaps the best comparative urban text available. But can we not hope for more in the interest of both science and pedagogy?

GIDEON SJOBERG

University of Texas

*The Agrarian Origins of Modern Japan.*

By THOMAS C. SMITH. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959. xi, 250 pp. \$5.00.

As sung in other connections in which tolerance is considered both proper and profitable, "the historian and the sociologist should be friends," and indeed of late, there have been a few signs that one of the most idiotic of intellectual antagonisms might be on the wane. For a very long time now, sociology's best accomplishments have had little to offer toward the goals claimed by sociologists, namely a science that generalizes about societies and social phenomena in general. Our best work for some decades, with only a few notable exceptions, has been narrowly focused on limited and usually unrelated aspects of only one type of society. Little has been done on other types of societies, let alone comparing two or more societies. Professor Smith is one of a growing group of scholars who call themselves historians, who are doing this kind of work on Chinese and Japanese materials. Even the sociologists indigenous to those countries prefer to work on only those materials on which they may utilize our best and most rigorously developed techniques. This has left to the historians a rich record for generalization on the basis of the past, and has confined most of the work of most of our Chinese and Japanese colleagues in sociology to those aspects and problems in their societies which are most like our narrow preoccupations in our own.

Professor Smith examines the general agrarian social structure which underlay the modernization of Japan. Not only does he describe it, but he treats it as a problem in social change. He performs this dynamic analysis without the sacrifice of any of the historian's careful concern for historical settings, documentation, etc. His book is an outstanding work—a happy companion to recent works by such men as Dore, Hall, Sansom, and others who, to our confusion, owe less to our discipline for their origins than to more classical academic departments.

In the course of the volume, Professor Smith traces changes in landholding, agrarian forms of labor, by-occupations, village organization, politics, market and other economic allocations, the agrarian family, etc. In a final chapter, he relates them all to a too-brief discussion of the general problem of modernization of Japan. He even raises questions as to whether certain generally accepted ideas about Tokugawa Japan in fact hold true (e.g., Did the agrarian "tax" burden in fact increase as the Tokugawa regime wore on, either absolutely or relatively?). We are deeply in his debt, both for his delving into materials generally inaccessible to most of us, and also for his attempts to assess their implications for general change in the social structure.

I wish the author had dared more and pushed the analysis further. I wish he had written a lot more and mitigated the somewhat episodic and disjunct character of the treatment. And I wish he had been more critical of us in one area where we seem to have influenced him most: I think that what he frequently refers to as a nuclear family system is, ideally speaking at least, almost certainly a *famille souche* system which, of course, is frequently reduced to actual nuclear family units. One of his arguments about technological "advances" favoring small production units rather than large (pp. 128-9) may be suspect as stated, etc. But this is nit-picking, plus a request that the author define his task differently. In discussing so fine a work, one only adds such remarks to retain critical balance.

Princeton University MARION J. LEVY, JR.

*Readings in Anthropology.* By MORTON H. FRIED. Vol. I: *Physical Anthropology, Linguistics, Archeology*. xi, 482 pp. \$3.00, paper. Vol. II: *Cultural Anthropology*. ix, 598 pp. \$3.25, paper. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1959.

A set of readings, like a literary anthology, brings together what the particular editor considers to be the most significant works—subject, of course, to his chosen criteria of length and format, his clearing of copyrights, and other limiting conditions. A hundred anthropologists would come up with a hundred different collations, with perhaps ten per cent of the items appearing with reasonable frequency. A fresh set of readings, therefore, can be scanned quite eagerly to see what text materials the creative selectivity of the editor has made more easily accessible not only to students but to colleagues in the social sciences. Fried has chosen to issue two volumes, with 73 items, nearly all article-length serial papers or chapters from books. His criterion of selection is the relevance of the

materials rather than the bigness of names; for instance, this Columbia staff member has no item from Boas. Several items are by workers in collateral fields (e.g., Libby on radiocarbon dating, Wittfogel on Oriental society), and two by graduate students (one a satire on archaeological field methods). The inevitably staccato effect of reading separate articles—with their overlapping, their conflicts and their omissions—is mitigated by introducing each major change of topic with a page or two of general comment, and each item with a brief explanation of its significance. Each author is identified in a useful personal note, and there is a glossary but no index. As an aid to teaching an appendix relates the readings to the chapters of twelve general anthropology texts.

Volume I opens with a general section on the "Scope and Aims of Anthropology" (three articles), and then deals with "Physical Anthropology" (11 articles), "Linguistics" (six articles), and "Archeology" (15 articles). Among items of special interest to sociologists should be Bartholemew and Birdsell on "Ecology and the Prothominids," Washburn on "The New Physical Anthropology," Greenberg on "Language and Evolutionary Theory," Braidwood on "Near Eastern Prehistory," and Steward on "The Development of Early Civilizations."

Volume II concentrates on "Cultural Anthropology." Five items dealing with "Culture and its Study" range from Tylor and Worsler to Dubois' "Some Psychological Techniques and Objectives in Anthropology." Two items on geography and culture are followed by four on "Economic Anthropology," ranging from White on "The Energy Theory of Cultural Development" to Oliver's ethnographic description of the technology of the Solomon Island Sual. Ten items deal with social and political organization, including Sahlins' provocative article on "The Social Life of Monkeys, Apes and Primitive Men" (the very title of which, Fried says, is "anathema to many anthropologists"); Gluckman on "The Origins of Social Organization"; Morgan, Linton, and Murdock on dynamics of the family; Kroeber, Kirchhoff, and Pehrson on kinship structure; Fortes and Evans-Pritchard on African political systems; and Hoebel on law. A section on "Ideology" contains only three items, including Kluckhohn's "Philosophy of the Navaho Indians"; along with another section on "Art and Music" (3 items) it is very thin fare indeed. A "Culture and Personality" section likewise has three articles: Benedict on the "abnormal," Mead on culture change and personality development, and sociologists Lindesmith and Strauss giving their 1950 critique of the field—again a meager diet of ideas considering the scope and the controversial nature of



this field. A fuller section on "Anthropology and More Complex Cultures" has Redfield on "The Folk Society," Steward on "Levels of Socio-cultural Integration," Arensburg on "American Communities," Erasmus on "Technical Assistance"; a sub-section on "Culture Change" contains summaries of four papers presented by British anthropologists at a 1948 colloquium—an early date considering the rich stream of fresh ideas on cultural dynamics which has characterized the last decade. The volumes, clearly printed and available in paper covers for students at a reasonable price, add most usefully to the growing number of anthropological anthologies.

FELIX M. KEESING

Stanford University

*Land Reform in Japan.* By R. P. DORE. New York: Oxford University Press, 1959. xvii, 510 pp. \$8.80.

While the Japanese land reform was carried out under the guidance of an American Occupation, it has taken an English-Canadian scholar to write what I believe to be the definitive work to date on the subject. The book is not concerned exclusively with the technical details of the reform, as the title might suggest, but is in some respects a study of the social and economic basis of Japanese agriculture on the model of Tawney's *Land and Labor in China*. An underlying theme of Dore's work is the fundamental importance of land tenure for Japanese social relations, political structure, and cultural change.

As the author shows in Part I, the evolution of the Japanese state and nation has at all points importantly depended upon the settlement of the agricultural problem. That this was the case in the feudal past would of course be obvious, but the reliance of the 19th century Meiji Government on traditional aspects of agricultural society for purposes of modernization may come as a surprise. Japanese political and industrial development was founded upon social and economic arrangements in the countryside which had changed little since the 13th century. This makes it possible to learn much from the Japanese case which might transfer to the cases of other Asian nations now attempting a similar change: the construction of modern industrial society in countries characterized by large populations, the majority of which is engaged in intensive agriculture utilizing hand labor. As economists and sociologists are coming to understand, the characteristics of this type of situation rarely conform to the rules and regulations established in Western social theory.

In Dore's work, the land reform seems to

emerge as one logical culmination of a complex process of social change which has in some degree been incipient in Japanese society since the beginning of Tokugawa times. This irregular but continuous "modernization" of the Japanese nation involved a rationalizing of the social and economic forms so as to provide for ever greater predictability and control. That is, such control and centralization of effort became an objective of Japan's ruling elite regardless of the particular ideology or social polity obtaining for any given era. Hence the land reform, though stimulated by the American Occupation as a one-shot, comprehensive change, must be understood in its basis and its effects in the context of the whole historical drift of Japanese society and attitudes. One example: landlord-tenant relations in prewar Japan were already moving toward a more rational and egalitarian pattern; likewise, social relations in the rural community, while still characterized by formality and traditional familism, were nevertheless under the impact of public education moving toward more open, contractual forms. The land reform was in part a recognition of these trends in crystallized form; most certainly its incredible ("incredible" to those who perceived the tenant and his community in "feudal" cultural terms) efficiency and success was due to the psychological, moral, and economic bases already in evidence.

But trends notwithstanding, the MacArthur land reform was an extraordinary instance of planned social change. Its social effects were immediate: within a year or two after the consummation, the former "ignorant peasant" was behaving like an educated farmer; traditional forms of familistic relations and paternalistic hierarchies were vanishing; and farm machinery and other gadgets, made available by better credit facilities and the like, were accepted eagerly. All of these things might have come to pass in the course of secular trends, but there is no doubt that the land reform and its associated economic and social reforms speeded things up enormously. One of my few criticisms of omission is that while Dore is aware of this process, he does not study it as such, and hence much of the potential and vital significance of the land reform for the problem of planned change in modern society does not become clear.

Perhaps another criticism pertains to Dore's overly delicate handling of long-range questions of the advisability or suitability of the land reform in the context of Japan's social and economic realities. He hints at a few losses: for example, the spirit of "community consciousness" in the village and hamlet which, however "feudal" it may have been, and therefore supportive of exploitation, did provide a shield against the effects of overpopulation and land

shortage—problems Japan may not have seen the last of. There also are “human values” here and there which the reform has liquidated. Such losses, if they are losses (one has to search for them in the book), raise questions about the relation of ideals to reality and to history, and of the great contemporary need for a theory of society which is cast in other than ideological terms.

As in his recent book, *City Life in Tokyo*, Dore utilizes a combination of carefully analyzed attitude data collected by questionnaire; abundant documentary statistics and materials; and controlled participant observation. This blend of techniques makes for a remarkably convincing and solid presentation, but one which always skirts truly intensive or intimate analysis of human involvements. But this is an authoritative and comprehensive work, and one with much meaning for domestic social scientists, often saturated with simplified notions of culture change and primitive conceptions of the relationship between economics and social life and history.

Washington University JOHN W. BENNETT

*Village Japan*. By RICHARD K. BEARDSLEY, JOHN W. HALL, and ROBERT E. WARD. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959. xv, 498 pp. \$8.75.

For some years the tiny community of Niiike in central Japan outdid the proverbial Navaho. Its typical family consisted of grandmother, married couple, their children, anthropologist, and a political scientist, geographer, historian, or some other miscellaneous social scientist. The result is this large and magnificent book which fully justifies Niiike's forbearance and the Michigan research team's persistence. It is not often that chapters on the life cycle and the festival calendar so dear to the anthropologist's heart rub shoulders under the same covers with an historical analysis of feudal institutions or with detailed psephological studies. And it is not often that such diverse elements are married in one book with such unity of style and tone.

In its exhaustive detail and in its competence this is the village study to end Japanese village studies. For a generation or so there will be hardly any point in doing, or at least in publishing, another, except as an explicit attempt to describe and analyse variations from the Niiike standard. In this respect of comparison and the analysis of concomitant variation, though, the authors themselves might have done more. They do, to be sure, discuss kinship differences between what they call the Frontier Zone and the Core Zone in which Niiike is situated. (This dichotomy is probably an improvement on, for instance, Fukutake's north-eastern – south-west-

ern division, but it is still rough-and-ready and the Peripheral Zone to which we are introduced early on gets lost along the way.) They might have speculated, though, about other differences, too. Why, for instance, are their Niiike people such dreadful sobersides compared with, say, Embree's Kyushu villagers? Why are they so much more punctilious about religious observances than almost anybody on the Kanto Plain? Why the unusual degree of loyalty to political notables and for such unpecuniary motives?

The ethnographic description is precisely observed (for once we are told where around the dinner table people actually sit and not where they say they are *supposed* to sit, as in most Japanese accounts.) And it is neatly and evocatively described down to the last detail of the warm tints cast on a smiling face by a summer parasol or the contortions of the younger-son “salary man” wriggling his feet into his already laced shoes. The sociological analysis has a few, though rare, soft spots—the confusion of terms of address and terms of reference in the table of kinship terms, for example. But it also has its flashes of incisive illumination—it is good to find a clear and informative analysis of cousin marriages, for instance, and the short footnote on page 269 neatly cuts through a lot of ambiguity surrounding fictive kin relations.

The reader should not ignore the beginning and end sections sandwiching the anthropological core, either. Chapter 3 represents, as far as I know, the only attempt in English—and a very successful one—to present a microcosmic cross-section of the historical development of Japanese society by the local history method. The political chapters contain a most balanced evaluation of local decision-making procedures which is a far cry from the usual crudities of “democratic” and “feudal,” as well as probably the most detailed analysis of the inner working of an election *Jiban* available.

It only remains to add that even without its excellent collection of photographs the book would still be a bargain for its text and its finely executed maps and line drawings.

R. P. DORE

University of British Columbia

*Land Reform and Democracy*. By CLARENCE SENIOR. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1958. xiii, 269 pp. \$6.75.

This is a good book. It is also one that almost failed to reach a publisher. The completed manuscript was stolen from the author's car in Mexico City and it took almost three years of additional work to rewrite the study. Students of Latin America can be glad that Dr. Senior persevered.

In the words of the author, the work is designed to examine "three broad questions connected with land reform in its relation to democracy." The first is, "How are those who want reform going to secure the power to carry it into effect?" Second, "Does democracy grow spontaneously after land is distributed or must it be deliberately sought and planned for during and after agrarian reform?" Third, "What technical problems must be solved?"

Though the study is projected against the background of a defense of the thesis that "the essence of the 'world revolution of our time' for perhaps the majority of the people of the world is the demand for land," the book itself is an examination of "the three major questions just stated as they apply to a specific large-scale agrarian experiment—that which is found in the important cotton-growing Laguna region of Mexico." It is, in short, a sort of case study, but it is a study permeated by the conviction that "the Laguna experience is meaningful not alone for those who think about or participate in agrarian action, but also for all those who deal with other aspects of the development of 'underdeveloped areas' and attempt to create more democratic societies; in fact, for all those who hope for intelligently directed social change."

The theoretical framework for this sociological analysis of a specific project of land reform is the Mertonian version of the structural-functional point of view. "The key concept [utilized] is 'that of strain, tension, contradiction, or discrepancy between the component elements of the social and cultural structure.' Specifically, in order to understand changes in land tenure arrangements, a sociologist would expect to find at least the following elements present: (1) Peasant dissatisfaction with existing agrarian institutions; (2) A determination to act on that dissatisfaction; (3) A goal (even though hazily formulated) toward which to work; and (4) Organization to carry out that determination and work toward the goal envisioned."

But the book is not only a sociological analysis of a specific land reform program. It is also intended "to lay the basis for an understanding of the principal problems of agrarianism, insofar as its advocates hope to build a new social system in which democratic values and practices are basic." (Italics mine.) As a yardstick for measuring the degree of the presence or absence of democracy in Laguna, Lasswell's well-known eight "goal values" are employed and it is held that "A social system approaches democracy to the degree in which [these] eight 'goal values' are widely shared; it recedes from democracy as these values acquire a narrower base in the total population."

Senior begins by fitting the struggle for land reform in Mexico into the world scene with a chapter on "Land Reform—A World Issue." Chapters 2, "The Mexican Revolution," and 3, "The Revolution Reaches La Laguna," are excellent discussions of the way in which the Mexicans answered the first of the three questions mentioned above: "How are peasants to achieve the power to carry out land reforms?" Chapter 4 follows with an analysis of the "Geographic and Economic Factors in Regional Development" with which the newly empowered peasants had to cope. Chapter 5, "The Framework for Agrarian Democracy," is a description of the "new social and economic institutions [which] were created for the region almost overnight and Chapter 6, "Problems and Progress in Building an Agrarian Democracy," a consideration of the question "How do people only just released from a state of virtual serfdom, with its attendant ignorance and provincialism, go about building democracy?" In other words, these chapters are exciting answers to the second major question: "Does democracy grow spontaneously after land is distributed or must it be deliberately sought and planned for during and after agrarian reform?" And Dr. Senior's answer is sound, if not unexpected: "The Laguna experience would indicate that democracy does not grow spontaneously after land reform but must be deliberately promoted. Furthermore, the social norms of various groups involved in the reform must be recognized as playing at least as vital a role as new legal and economic arrangements." These chapters and Chapter 7, "Population Pressure and Agrarian Problems," also provide the author's answer to the third major question posed: "What technical problems must be solved?"

The book concludes with a chapter on "Democracy Comes to a Cotton Kingdom," in which an assessment is made "of the Laguna experiment in terms of the goal values of democracy adopted from Lasswell's study." To this there is added a list of sixteen "modest and elementary" generalizations derived from the study because the author (believing that "the end and justification for social science is 'prediction and control'") feels that even such tentative inferences may be useful to others engaged in land reform programs.

Excellent written and well presented, this book offers few targets for criticism. The text is supplemented by well arranged notes, 37 tables, 5 figures, a very good bibliography (marred somewhat by the failure to include the works of Cumberland and Ross on Madero), and an adequate index.

REX D. HOPPER

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## BOOK NOTES

*The World of Islam.* (Le Monde Islamique: Essai de Géographie Religieuse). By XAVIER DE PLANHOL. Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1959. xi, 142 pp. \$2.00, paper.

This translation of the *World of Islam* will interest the reader by the sheer richness of its information. Widely different matters are presented: the differences between Moslem communities deep within Africa, paradoxes of the structured yet disorderly Moslem cities, the contrary effects of law and custom on agriculture and landholding, the nature of the heretical groups that have taken refuge in mountains or desert; these and many other subjects are discussed.

The conclusions presented seem less impressive than the extraordinary assemblage of facts. The thesis that there is "an urban ideal implicit in Islam" is not wholly convincing. Mosques are indeed the center of cities, but Islam has been spread by the trader and the warrior, both of them rendered independent of the mosque by the individualism of daily prayer. And does Islam "build with fragile materials"? One recalls the mosques in Cairo, and Damascus, and Benares. The fascinating question why Islam is roughly co-extensive with the arid belt is considered, but cause and effect perhaps cannot be conclusively distinguished. The open spaces and the existence of a somewhat unified religious culture have certainly delayed nationalism; but which is primary? Geography no doubt plays a part in Islamic history, but as the author very honestly admits, there are no simple truths. The reader is stimulated, but is left uncertain what "religious geography" really is.—VIRGINIA CORWIN

*Monasteries and Culture Change in Inner Mongolia.* By ROBERT JAMES MILLER. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1959. xi, 152 pp. 20.—DM, paper.

In this book, Dr. Miller, an anthropologist trained in Far Eastern studies, outlines the functional interrelationship between the Lama religion and the cultural, economic, and political aspects of the social structure of Inner Mongolia in the 16th to 19th centuries. An historical and morphological description of Lama monasticism and a concluding chapter stressing the positive function of the religion are also included.

The study is valuable to the sociologist for two reasons. First, though the method is anthropological, the data are historical. Too many sociologists, by ignoring research involving non-

contemporary situations, have left by default to the social historians problems which the sociologists are better qualified to solve.

Second, Miller, in choosing a non-Western society for analysis, has not selected a so-called primitive society, as is the more usual custom among anthropologists. As a result, once again we see that certain facets of the study of comparative social organization (for example, social change) will come to light only when other than primitive societies are examined. This is because corresponding forms of Western social structure are not found in many primitive societies. For example, by describing in detail how surpluses were systematically and deliberately accumulated in the monasteries but simultaneously systematically and deliberately ritually wasted, Miller sheds additional light on problems in economic sociology, especially the problem of isolating the sociological origins of modern capitalism.—NORMAN JACOBS

*Japanese Popular Culture: Studies on Mass Communication and Cultural Change Made at the Institute of Science of Thought, Japan.* Edited and Translated by HIDETOSHI KATO. Tokyo; Rutland, Vt.: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1959. 223 pp. \$5.00.

Western literature on Japan's industrial development is considerable, but analyses of the popular arts in Japan are lacking. Since the mass production of goods and the mass production of popular arts are inextricably linked, many enigmatic features of Japan's industrialization will be better understood as we learn more about her mass culture. The present book provides a token introduction to this neglected area.

Sponsored by M.I.T.'s Center for International Studies, Mr. Hidetoshi Kato has translated and edited fourteen studies roughly corresponding to the categories found in Rosenberg and White's compilation, *Mass Culture: the Popular Arts in America*. American sociologists may be fascinated by the similarity in the forms of entertainment in Japan and in America, but they will be surprised at the difference in the content of each form of divertissement.

Most of the studies in this book were written by members of the Japan Institute of the Science of Thought and originally published in their journal. The members of this Institute are social scientists and humanists interested in the transformation of Japanese ideology as it responds



to the fluid economic and political conditions of their nation. Unwittingly they reveal their personal values and predilections, and their articles tell us almost as much about the writers' prejudices as they do about the targets of the mass media.

Most of the analyses are qualitative and impressionistic; few of the findings are based on questionnaire or other quantitative approaches. An appendix contains helpful statistical data on readership and circulation figures on the mass media. In sum, this is only a glimpse of the popular arts in Japan.—IWA OISHINO

*Birth Control and Catholic Doctrine.* By ALVAH W. SULLOWAY. Preface by ALDOUS HUXLEY. Boston: Beacon Press, 1959. xxiii, 257 pp. \$3.95.

This is a scholarly, keenly analytical work by a Connecticut lawyer giving the history of Catholic doctrines relating to contraception and exposing their inconsistencies and invalidities. Sulloway finds excessive rationalization, prostitution of reason, and substitution of institutional expediency for sound ethics. His extensive bibliography and copious notes evidence his mastery of pertinent documents.

Before 1932, the Roman Church had held that any separation of marital intercourse from possible parenthood was mortal sin, a violation of "natural law" or "God's will"—terms which our author finds are metaphysical substitutes for papal mandates. After 1932, the so-called "safe period" was touted as a "God-given" means of regulating family size. The calendar replaced the condom; and its wholesale distribution and the extravagant claims for its simplicity and reliability led to intervention by the Federal Trade Commission. Sulloway then proceeds to impale the Catholic writers "upon the teeth of their own arguments." Most of the dire evils which were said to follow contraception, such as increased adultery, premarital in chastity, venereal disease, race suicide, and so on are equally certain to follow use of the safe period.

Since the populations of Catholic countries are, in general, both poor and rapidly multiplying, the dilemma posed by Catholic birth control doctrine seems as obvious as it is tragic.—FRANK H. HANKINS

*RKFDV: German Resettlement and Population Policy 1939-1945.* By ROBERT L. KOEHL. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958. xi, 263 pp. \$6.50.

When the German army overran Poland in 1939, Himmler set in motion a grandiose and ruthless resettlement policy designed to convert the occupation of eastern Europe into permanent

ethnic conquest. "Inferior races" would be expelled; Germans would be transferred into the evacuated areas and charged with restoring the economy and with building a human wall of "Germandom" on the eastern marches. As a preliminary came the annihilation of the European Jewish community, and the deportation to slave labor camps of hundreds of thousands of Poles and other non-Germans. To accelerate the absorption of over a million Germans in the newly conquered territory, the Nazis devised a special bureaucratic structure, the *Reichskommissariat für die Festigung deutschen Volkstums* (RKFDV).

Professor Koehl has written what is essentially a meticulous chronology of the RKFDV program. In filling in the details of this familiar record, the author has relied almost exclusively on the verbatim testimony of the Nuremberg Trials. The result is that, save for a brief evaluation in the final pages, he writes nearly always about files, exchanges of memoranda, orders, counterorders. This represents a modest and useful contribution, of interest primarily to historians in need of supplementing previous studies by Eugene Kulischer and Joseph Schectman. To the sociologist concerned with the equivocal social role of the "neutral" bureaucrat in a totalitarian setting, *RKFDV* can have only limited value as raw material, another monograph in the ethnography of Nazism.—RICHARD ROBBINS

*The Negro Press Re-Examined: Political Content of Leading Negro Newspapers.* By MAXWELL R. BROOKS. Boston: Christopher Publishing House, 1959. 125 pp. \$2.75.

Like Dr. Kinsey, Dr. Brooks has claimed too much by way of a title. His book is not a general sociological survey; it is sketchy compared to the informative chapter on the Negro press in Myrdal's *An American Dilemma*. Neither does it constitute a searching re-examination of the strains inherent in an enterprise at once so vital to Black Metropolis and so sealed off from White Metropolis. Brooks makes no effort to assess such new periodicals as *Ebony* in the context of changes in Negro class structure, nor does he discuss what James Baldwin calls the "innate desperation" and E. Franklin Frazier calls "the world of make-believe" in the leading Negro newspapers.

The disappointing quality of the volume stems from a self-imposed limitation: the work is devoted to a quantitative treatment of the charge that the Negro press overdoes race protest to the point of embracing political "radicalism" and alien ideologies. This seems to me a relatively

minor point, deriving almost entirely from some southern writers who wish to link opposition to segregation with political disloyalty, but Brooks constructs an elaborate content analysis to deal with it. Sampling issues of the five leading weeklies during one year (1948), he examines the news and editorial comment to see whether the use of certain basic political symbols adds up to either a negative or positive approach to the American Creed (as derived from a consensus among a number of distinguished scholars of American values). Not surprisingly Brooks concludes, after scoring some 10,000 symbols, that strong negative feelings about racial discrimination to one side, the principal Negro newspapers are thoroughly American in outlook and, if anything, quite conservative on nonracial political issues.—RICHARD ROBBINS

*When Negroes March: the March on Washington Movement in the Organizational Politics for FEPC.* By HERBERT GARFINKEL. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1959. 224 pp. \$4.00.

The March on Washington Movement was at the height of its influence and fame in June, 1941. Its most important role was in helping to bring about the issuance of President Roosevelt's Executive Order 8802, which prohibited discrimination in defense employment and government and established the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice to insure fulfillment of the Order. Herbert Garfinkel has written an interesting history of that movement, from its inception as a proposal by A. Philip Randolph in January, 1941, to its demise, to all intents and purposes, during the early part of 1944. While he utilizes the earlier writings of Kesselman, Maslow, Ruchames, and others, Garfinkel's contribution consists of material gleaned from an examination of the original records of the Movement itself, close attention to the personal role of Randolph in the birth and decline of the Movement, and interesting evaluations of various aspects of FEPC history. The book would have been much more valuable, however, if the author had also utilized the very important source material on this subject available in the Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park. This material, as yet untapped, throws much light on the history of the FEPC and the relationships between Negro leaders and the Roosevelt Administration. A more comprehensive index, which included the material in the Notes as well as the text, would have added to the volume's usefulness. Nonetheless, this study is an interesting and useful contribution to our knowledge of minority group movements in general and the March On Washington Movement in particular.—LOUIS RUCHAMES

*Youth Looks at Marriage and the Family: A Study of Changing Japanese Attitudes.* By RAY E. BABER. Tokyo: Rural Welfare Research Institute, International Christian University, 1958. ix, 154 pp. No price indicated, paper.

The Japanese family is about to undergo drastic changes if the attitudes of youths surveyed in this book are any indication of how they will behave as adults.

Using a questionnaire with 50 multiple choice items designed with the help of outstanding Japanese experts on the family, Baber asked more than 5,000 Japanese high school and university students about their attitudes toward the status of women, parent-child relationships, number of children desired, choosing mates, wives in the labor force, residence patterns after marriage, husband's participation in housework, inheritance, support of aged parents, and ancestor worship. In addition he presents a section summarizing the topics which university students discussed with their parents. The evidence is overwhelming that these youths profess attitudes which are not in accord with the prevailing customs and norms of their parents.

The author appears to have sampled his population well and to have gained sufficient rapport to obtain honest responses to his questionnaires. But the limitations of Baber's multiple choice approach is evident in the shallow probing into such vital problem-areas as contemporary dating patterns, interpersonal relationships within the family, and financial aspects of marriage. Nevertheless, Baber's report is a pioneer effort by an American sociologist to probe into the not-so-mystical family institution of Japan.—IWAIO ISHINO

*New Horizons in Criminology.* Third Edition. By HARRY ELMER BARNES and NEGLEY K. TEETERS. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1959. xvi, 654 pp. \$9.65.

At this point in the development of the field of criminology a basic textbook should accomplish at least three objectives: (1) assemble significant theory and research knowledge, (2) appraise the contemporary crime problem in historical perspective, and (3) present a point of view for new directions in the field. The recent edition of *New Horizons in Criminology* more than adequately fulfills these prescriptions; in addition it is a highly readable volume.

*New Horizons* weaves relevant theoretical and research conclusions, with lively case data, into the body of the book in a manner which makes a maximum impact on the new student. This approach, while appropriate for the beginning

student, sacrifices the theoretical rigor required for more advanced courses in criminology.

One excellent feature of the book is its historical panoramic view of criminology, which reveals the vestiges of archaic approaches to criminal behavior in current correction practice. Although many would argue with some of the extreme notions of Barnes and Teeters against imprisonment, the authors' position is logically and emphatically stated.

This edition gains much in revision. In particular, Chapter 2, "The Overlords of Crime," and Chapter 3, "The Upper World of Crime," bring the current important problems of syndicated and white collar crime into focus.

The section on correction philosophy and procedures continues to be the backbone of the book in its encyclopedic completeness. This streamlined 1959 version does, however, chop out the formerly comprehensive and invaluable index of readings in the field. This is unfortunate, although understandable, since the book now runs over 650 pages. *New Horizons* continues to be a landmark in criminology highly applicable to and acceptable for use in undergraduate courses.—LEWIS YABLONSKY

*Road of Propaganda: The Semantics of Biased Communication.* By KARIN DOVRING. Introduction by HAROLD D. LASSWELL. New York: Philosophical Library, 1959. 158 pp. \$4.75.

As a thoughtful Swedish journalist and student of mass communications, Dovring has a deep concern for the social implications of biased communication, "a sophisticated term for propaganda, a word feared or avoided by all objective people and therefore a source of darkness and obscurity since nobody wants to talk about it but nevertheless everybody uses it." She is aware that "the less we have experienced the battle for our minds as a menace, the more susceptible we are to the communicator and his method." In her wise volume of impressions drawn from her work in many countries, she employs a variety of illustrations, principles, and suggestions to indicate how propaganda battles are fought and how we can become somewhat less susceptible, somewhat less likely to serve as tools of propaganda not in our interest. Her book is disturbing in a refreshing way. It supplements more systematic and objective studies with a wealth of experience.—ALFRED McCLUNG LEE

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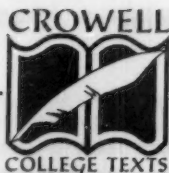
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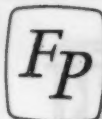
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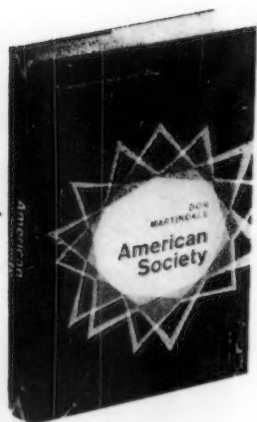
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